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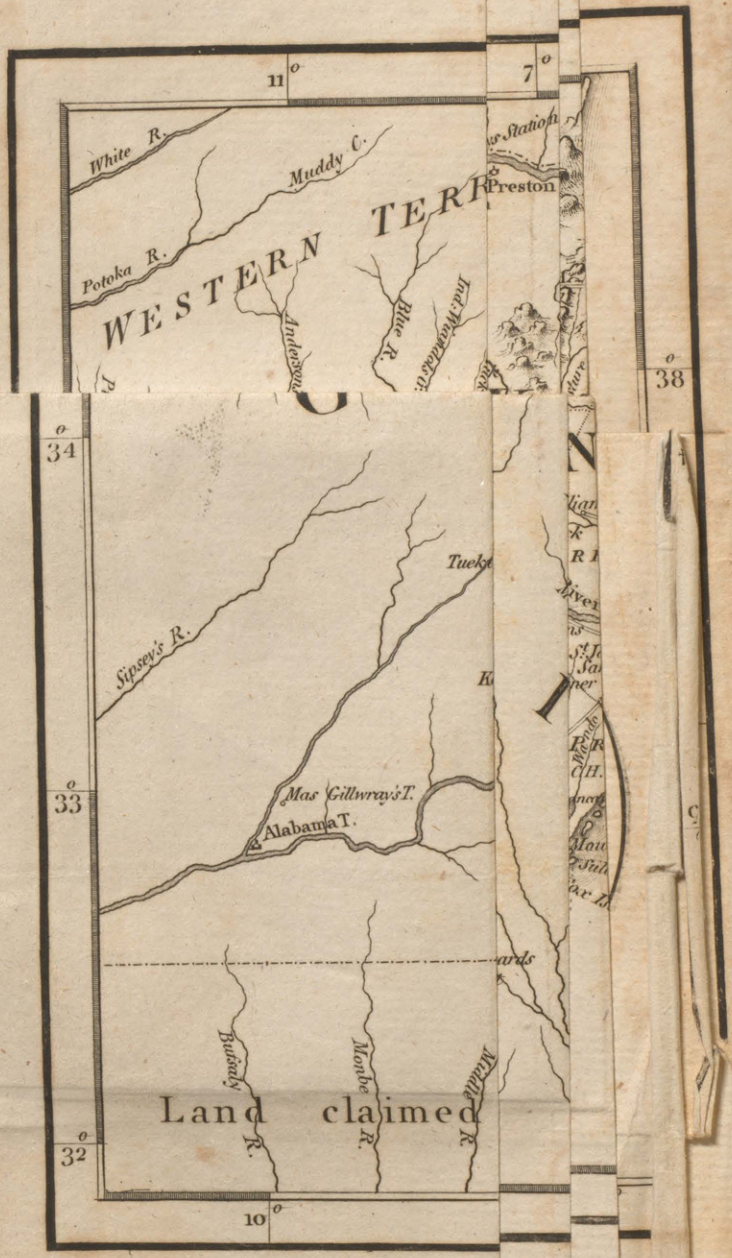
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TRAVELS

THROUGH

THE UNITED STATES

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

THE

COUNTRY OF THE IROQUOIS,

AND

UPPER CANADA,

IN THE YEARS 1795, 1796, AND 1797;

WITH AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF LOWER CANADA.

BY THE

DUKE DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT
LIANCOURT.

VOL. I.

London:

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1799.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, a man, who, at all times, has been diſtinguiſhed as one of the moſt amiable, the moſt virtuous, and the beſt informed of all the French nobility, has made a journey for philoſophical and commercial obſervation throughout a great part of North America, and has communicated the ſubſtance of his obſervations to the World, in the valuable Narrative which is here preſented to the Britiſh Public.

Although no longer a dependency of the Britiſh Empire, the thirteen provinces of the American Commonwealth are not regarded by Britons, as a land of ſtrangers. The mutual animoſities of the war of the American revolution are already extinguiſhed. Britons and Americans now think of each other only as brethren; a kindred deſcent, a common language, congenial character, a ſtrong alliance of inſtitutions, arts, and manners, render them to one another reciprocally intereſting, perhaps much more than, in ſimilar circumſtances, any third nation would be to either. As the hiſtory of the Spaniards, who firſt entered South America, engages our curioſity more than that of the horſes, the dogs, or the ſugar-canes, which they carried with them; as the hiſtory of the nations of poliſhed Europe is more intereſting than that of the Tartars and Tonguſi; as accounts of the fortunes of

a ſon, a father, a brother, a lover, in a diſtant land, are more anxiouſly expected, and more eagerly heard, than if it were but a caſual acquaintance to whom they related: ſo, in the ſame manner, and for the ſame reaſons, every new communication reſpecting North America, and its inhabitants of Britiſh deſcent, is naturally, in an extraordinary degree, attractive to the curioſity of the people of this country. M. de la Rochefoucault's details concerning colonial life and manners are, hence, adapted to impreſs a Britiſh imagination, as agreeably as if their ſubject were the rural œconomy of Wales, of Yorkſhire, or of the Highlands of Scotland, and that, till now, though ſo nearly intereſting, yet utterly unknown.

Beſides ſuch motives of affection and curioſity, there are reaſons of a leſs refined nature, which engage the commercial people of England, to liſten eagerly to all authentic accounts reſpecting America. A great and increaſing intercourſe of trade and emigration is carried on between theſe two countries. The lands and national debts of the American Republic are familiarly bought and ſold in London. The produce of American plantations, the planks from American ſaw-mills, the ſhips built in American dock-yards, are, in a large proportion, deſtined for the uſe of Britain. A very numerous emigration of induſtrious, reſtleſs, or enterpriſing perſons, are conſtantly paſſing from Britain to America. The transfer of property between the two countries is great and inceſſant. It would be impoſſible to manage the commercial buſi-

neſs

neſs which thus ariſes between the two countries with any adequate mercantile intelligence, if continual enquiries were not diligently made into all circumſtances that can influence produce, manufacture, and demand in the market, eſpecially in America, where all things are as yet much more uncertain, and more imperfectly known than in Britain. The political relations and correſpondence between Britain and America conſpire to the ſame effect; for there are many occaſions, upon which a Britiſh politician, inattentive to the progreſs of things in America, would be entirely incapable of providing for the true political intereſts of the Britiſh empire.

It is, however, to the philoſophical enquirer, of whatever nation, that ſuch details as the following volumes contain, concerning the ſtate of life and manners, in America, are likely to be the moſt acceptable and inſtructive. The progreſs of colonization; the firſt diffuſion of new inhabitants through unappropriated waſtes; the ſluggiſh aukwardneſs of infant huſbandry; the relapſe into barbariſm, of thoſe outcaſts from poliſhed ſociety, whom their fortune conducts into regions, where they can converſe only with the wildneſs of rude nature, and where they are deſtitute of all the accommodations of the arts; the ſimplicity of government and of life and manners, that is natural in countries where population is ſcanty, and in which the ſubdiviſions of labour, and all the complex accommodations of ſociety, are unknown; the curious contraſt between colonial and

ſavage manners, and the effects of the colliſion between barbariſm and civility; topics intereſting to philoſophy, above almoſt all others in the hiſtory of human nature, and, of all, the moſt imperfectly known; are to be now, for the firſt time, fully elucidated, by a vigilant and unremitting obſervation of the phaſes of ſocial life in America. For the purpoſes of aſcertaining and illuſtrating the moſt important principles of general polity and juriſprudence, how often have philoſophers in vain attempted to explore the forgotten and unrecorded beginnings of civil life! How often lamented, that the moſt intereſting period in the progreſs of ſociety, ſhould thus be prior to the age of enlightened obſervation! How often, and how ridiculouſly laboured to ſupply the deficiency of records, by that ſort of theory which has been pompouſly chriſtened Conjectural Hiſtory! The account of the firſt population, meaſurement, and tillage of the plains of Egypt, Aſſyria, Hindoſtan, or China, is no longer to be recovered from oblivion: even the exact circumſtances of the ſettlement of the firſt Egyptian colonies in Greece; of the firſt Lydian, Greek, and Phrygian colonies in Italy; of our Teutonic anceſtors in Germany and Britain, muſt remain unknown. But, a keen attention to what is now paſſing in the back ſettlements of North America, and to that inceſſant emigration from Europe and from the more populous American provinces, by which thoſe back ſettlements are filled, will, at laſt, amply ſupply to philoſophical enquiry, what

what had ſeemed to be irrecoverably loſt, and will enable us to fill up an important chaſm in the hiſtory of the human ſpecies. It is the vegetable unfolding itſelf from the ſeed; it is the opening mind, in the firſt months of infancy; it is the form of conſummate ſtrength or beauty, riſing under the artiſt's hand, from the ſhapeleſs block of marble; rather than the full-grown plant, the mature man, or the finiſhed ſtatue; that the moſt delightfully intereſts the philoſopher of refined penetration, and the man of taſte, who to ſoundneſs of reaſon unites a vivid delicacy of ſentiment, and of imagination. Of all the pages of philoſophical hiſtory, none can deſerve to be read with ſuch earneſt curioſity, as thoſe which diſplay the naſcent energies of ſocial life.

Of ſuch inducements to attend to any information concerning the progreſs of induſtry, wealth, and civil policy in North America, it is impoſſible for any one to be inſenſible in reading the following journal. M. de la Rochefoucault Liancourt is a traveller of no ordinary diſcernment and diligence in enquiry. As the friend, and, in ſome ſort, the agricultural pupil of that intelligent philoſopher, Mr. Arthur Young, he travelled with views nearly ſimilar to thoſe by which Mr. Young was guided in ſo many tours and peregrinations, and in the compoſition of ſo many journals of huſbandry. The quality of the ſoil, the advantages for cultivation, the numbers, the induſtry, the intelligence of the huſbandmen; the advances which they have made in transforming the vaſt foreſts and

ſavannahs of interior America into cornfields and meadows; their modes of clearing and culture; the quantity of produce which they obtain; their mills, and other means of manufacture for the market; the opportunities of profitable ſale, have been marked and recorded by M. de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, in all thoſe American provinces through which he travelled, with an accuracy and fullneſs of information which ſeem to rival Mr. Young's tour through France and Italy, or even Sir John Sinclair's more elaborate ſtatiſtical collections concerning Scotland. Commerce ſhares his attention with rural œconomy; he viſited the lakes, the bays, the creeks, the points of the influx of the navigable rivers into the ſea, and thoſe beyond which navigation cannot aſcend toward their ſprings; he ſurveyed the ſtore-houſes; he marked the artifices of the traders; he entered the dwellings of the inhabitants of every different rank, partook of their fare, and ſlept or watched in their places for reſt; he travelled without any thing of that encumbering apparatus of wealth or grandeur, which hides the realities of life from thoſe it environs, even at thoſe times when their reſearches are the moſt diligent, and, as they think, the moſt ſucceſsful. He liſtened, and enquired, and looked around him, even with all the buſy aſſiduity of Sterne's Inquiſitive Traveller. He was not one of thoſe who are willing to content themſelves with gueſſes and with general language; but was, on every occaſion, careful to obtain, if poſſible, ſtatements admitting of the

the ſtricteſt accuracy of number and calculation. If unable to look around on thoſe ſcenes of wild and majeſtic nature, with the ſublime and pictureſque imagination of a poet; if unendowed with the ſkill of a ſcientific naturaliſt; M. de la Rochefoucault Liancourt cannot, however, fail to appear to every reader, to have been eminently qualified to make ſuch obſervations as are beſt adapted for the inſtruction of the farmer, the merchant, the colonial emigrant, or the political œconomiſt: And it was preciſely a traveller of this character who was wanted to give us the moſt deſirable new information concerning the progreſſive ſettlement of America. With the account of trade and induſtry, he unavoidably combines ſketches, details, and ſlight caſual touches, reſpecting the familiar life of the Americans, which every reader will find highly amuſing and inſtructive. He exhibits pictures of Indian manners, which, though mournful, and diſguſting to taſte, are, yet, intereſting to philoſophy, in conjunction with his accounts of the ſettlers before whom the Indian tribes are gradually vaniſhing from the earth. With his ſtatements reſpecting the provinces of the American Republic, he preſents alſo a multiplicity of important details concerning the Britiſh colonial poſſeſſions of Canada. He tells all that he could learn, without being reſtrained, even by conſiderations of perſonal delicacy, or the ſecrecy of honour, from making public ſeveral things, which, though acceptable to us, were certainly not intended to be thus proclaimed to all Europe, by

thoſe

thoſe who communicated them to him. Concerning the intercourſe, the emulation, the mutual jealouſies, the dark projects reciprocally meditated, between the Americans and the Britiſh coloniſts and ſoldiery of Upper Canada, he gives a variety of information, which we ſhould, otherwiſe, never have obtained.

The character and predominant opinions of M. de la Rochefoucault Liancourt himſelf, are, in this volume, very frankly and amply diſplayed. In his character, great native rectitude and benignity of diſpoſition appear to be aſſociated with ſome of the philoſophical affectations of the new ſchool, and with ſomewhat of that never-failing gallantry and politeneſs which uſed to mark the manners of the old French nobility.

Although a victim to the Revolution, he ſtill approves thoſe principles of political reform, upon which the firſt movements toward it were made: Though an outcaſt from France, he ſtill takes a warm patriotic intereſt in the glory of the French nation. Hence, he inclines, at times, to encourage the milder claſs of thoſe political ſentiments, which the ſagacity of Government finds it prudent to diſcourage in Britain, as little adapted to promote the general welfare. And whenever the views, the intereſts, and the public ſervants of the Britiſh Government come to be mentioned, he uſually ſpeaks the language of a foreigner and a foe.*

Throughout

* In a very few places it has been found expedient to inſert initials for proper names, and to ſubſtitute aſteriſks for ſentiments.

In

Throughout the whole of his American journies, there appears to have reigned in the mind of this illuſtrious exile, a melancholy caſt of imagination, with a peeviſh irritability of feeling, ſuch as it was very natural for misfortunes like his, to produce. Every ſcene of beneficent conduct from great landholders toward their dependents, brings to his remembrance, his own endeavours to enlighten and bleſs the peaſantry upon thoſe eſtates in France, which once were his own. He ſhrinks in agony from the exultations with which Britiſh officers tell him of the ruin of the naval force of republican France. He complains of a dirty room, a hard bed, a ſcanty meal, as if it were a grievous misfortune. He has a peculiar quickneſs of eye at diſcovering ſloth, knavery, and miſchief, wherever he travels. The wounds which his ſpirit had ſuffered were ſtill freſh or feſtering; and were, therefore, liable to be grievouſly inflamed and irritated by the ſlighteſt degree of new laceration. He, not unfrequently, breaks forth into expreſſions of keen anguiſh, or more ſubdued and penſive ſorrow, which, being the voice of nature and of truth, muſt prove to every reader inexpreſſibly intereſting.

In one or two inſtances where obvious ſuppreſſion would have inſinuated more than the original paragraph, the original has been retained. The motives of the writer, in theſe places, are ſo obvious, and his concluſions ſo palpably unjuſt, that to have ſoftened or ſuppreſſed would have been a bad compliment to the underſtanding of the Britiſh Reader.

It

It is, amidſt all this, impoſſible not to admire this amiable nobleman, for labouring to divert the tædium of his exile, by enquiries of a tendency ſo beneficial, and for accommodating his mind, in ſo conſiderable a degree, to the hardſhips of his condition. Perhaps he could not have been more uſefully employed, in any conceivable proſperity of his fortunes. He appears to have been content to ride on horſeback, without a ſervant, and to travel about without aught of the pomp of greatneſs, or the luxury of opulence, juſt as if he had never been more than a plain farmer or manufacturer in France.

The ſtile is naturally ſimple, and devoid of all affectation. The Tranſlator has not, in his verſion, made any attempt to clothe the work in laboured elegances or ornaments which it did not originally wear. Faithfulneſs, ſimplicity, and correctneſs of Engliſh phraſeology, are the chief qualities, by which he has aſpired to diſtinguiſh his work. He leaves it to the reader, to judge, how far he may have been ſucceſsful or otherwiſe.

The Engliſh Edition has been illuſtrated by correct copies of the MAPS, given in the author's original work, and a cloſe inſpection will ſhew, that theſe Maps not only correct former Maps of America in many points, but exhibit in their proper places, for the firſt time, a great variety of new Towns and Settlements.

The Indexes will render it eaſy to refer to the volumes, for any ſingle particular of the information which they contain.

It cannot, for a moment, be doubted, but the book of ſo illuſtrious a traveller—free as it is from all blemiſhes of affectation or negligence,—filled with information the moſt recent and important,—concerning a country than which there is no one elſe more an object of Britiſh curioſity,—communicating nothing but what is plainly of the higheſt authenticity,—dwelling chiefly on thoſe topics of enquiry and information, which are the moſt faſhionable, and the moſt attractive, to policy, trade and induſtry,—and intermingling ſuch allurements of pathetic ſentiment, and of perſonal anecdote, as never fail to pleaſe,—will, from all theſe recommendations, be very favourably received by the Britiſh Public.

H. NEUMAN.

LONDON, *September*, 1799.

N.B. *This Tranſlation has been faithfully made, without omiſſion or alteration, from the laſt Paris Edition, publiſhed by the bookſellers Du Pont, Buiſſon, and Charles Pongens.*

THE

THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

AND

DEDICATION.

WHEN I began to write a journal of my Travels, it was my intention to confine it ſolely within the circle of my friends: but ſome of them being of opinion that the publication of it would be of general advantage, I ſubmitted to their advice, and reſolved to publiſh it on my arrival in Europe. In chuſing a patroneſs for my book, it was natural for me to ſelect that perſon who claimed the largeſt ſhare of my eſteem and gratitude;—who has been endeared to me ſtill more by her unparalleled misfortunes. There could be no occaſion for calling to remembrance, the atrocious murder of a couſin; as it is too well known, and held in juſt abhorrence. But perhaps it is neceſſary to remark, that his virtue was ſo exalted as to render him unſuſpicious of ſo nefarious a crime, and that his internal conſciouſneſs induced him to ſlight the advice which his friends gave both to him and me, at the time when an order was iſſued for arreſting us; and which, in all probability, was not the only mandate concerning us from the ſame quarter. He would not

quit

quit France; but I, who was leſs confident and leſs virtuous, fled from the poignard, while he fell by its ſtroke!

On my arrival in Europe, and while I was employed in preparing this work for the public, I received an account of my aunt's death, which cut off all the fond hopes I had entertained of once more beholding her, even on her death-bed. It will readily be ſuppoſed, that the idea of withdrawing from her the dedication of my book, could not enter my afflicted mind. I have ſtill preſerved it for her with a ſympathetic regard. Although eſtabliſhed uſage may hereby be violated, yet he who is ſenſible that neither friendſhip nor gratitude ends with death, will eaſily conceive the pleaſure, melancholy as it may be, which I receive from the performance of this laſt ſacred duty to a departed friend, who had ſo many claims upon my warmeſt affections.——

DEDICATION

DEDICATION

TO

CITIZENESS LA ROCHEFOUCAULT D'ENVILLE.

"*My dear and unfortunate Aunt,*

"GIVE me leave reſpectfully to preſent you with an account of my Travels through the United States of America. It is an offering of ſincere attachment and gratitude; and I am confident you will receive it kindly. How often have I, in the courſe of this work, lamented with painful anxiety, that I was not near you; that I was prevented by dreadful circumſtances, from taking a ſhare with your amiable and lovely daughter, in affording you that attention and comfort of which your feeling and afflicted heart ſtood ſo much in need! Undoubtedly my ſervices could never have been equal to his, whoſe fate we deplore: but I am bold to think, that in the tenderneſs of my feelings, and in your own heart, you would in me have recognized a ſon. I have ſometimes thought that you miſſed me; that after recollecting every thing which makes me indebted to your goodneſs, your advice, and example, you have not entirely removed me from your thoughts. You will eaſily believe that this was one of the reflections which has given me the greateſt degree of pleaſure. The cer-

tainty of holding unalterably a place in the affection of an eſteemed object, in ſpite of misfortune and ſeparation, has a peculiar effect in animating the heart of that man who has nothing to reproach himſelf with.

" The obſervations you will find in the work itſelf are not ſo perfect as they might have been ; but you know what difficulties a traveller, who wiſhes to convey information, has to combat. He is always obliged to be ſatisfied with the anſwers given to his queſtions : he does not often find a man at leiſure or diſpoſed to give the information that is required : the perſon who is queſtioned about the objects of his own buſineſs, frequently knows no more than is neceſſary to carry it on, and is incapable of conveying his ideas to another, even on the ſubject of his own occupation. And it happens ſtill more frequently that party-ſpirit, ſelf-intereſt, or prejudice, deprive thoſe anſwers of all manner of truth and candour. The traveller himſelf is often deficient in making the proper enquiries ; he often views things with prejudice, imbibed from a certain ſyſtem, and according to which, he regulates all his queſtions, and all the anſwers he receives. To theſe real difficulties are frequently added thoſe which ariſe out of the perſonal ſituation of the traveller, from the circumſtances of the moment, or from ſome opinions which he may have already formed, before he makes his enquiries. It is eaſy therefore to conceive how difficult it is for a perſon who travels to acquire a full and accurate account of every thing.

" I do

"I do not say, that in this tour, I have had the good fortune to keep clear of the rocks against which so many have struck. But I may say that I have done every thing in my power to insert nothing but what is authentic. As far as I possibly could, I have made enquiries concerning the same thing of several men, of different interests and opinions. I have done my utmost endeavour to get rid of every partial opinion I might have previously formed; in short, I have sought after truth by every means in my power. The idea of writing only for you, for my friends, and for myself, has made me still more strict and attentive with regard to the materials which I collected, and the accounts I afterwards made from them. I have likewise stated, almost on every occasion, the sources from which I drew them; in order to engage your approbation, or shew where doubts ought to be entertained. I have not, knowingly, stated any thing that was erroneous; but, still, I am far from supposing that I have escaped every kind of error. I have frequently in one place been unable to obtain an account of certain circumstances, concerning which I had in another place, acquired very full information. Although some books of travels in America may contain fewer facts than I have collected; yet I do not the less, on that account, perceive the defects of my tour, which I might with more cunning, but with less fairness, have concealed from my friends.

"The territory of the United States is perhaps the only country in the world which it is most difficult

to be made acquainted with, unleſs you have traverſed it yourſelf. It is a country altogether in a ſtate of progreſſive advancement. What is to-day a fact, with regard to its population, its management, its value, and trade; will no longer be ſo in ſix months to come; and ſtill leſs in ſix months more. It is like a youth, who from the ſtate of a boy is growing into manhood, and whoſe features, after the expiration of a year, no longer reſemble the original picture that had been drawn of him. The accounts given by travellers at preſent, and perhaps for many years to come, can only ſerve as the means of enabling diſtant poſterity to form a compariſon between the ſtate which the country ſhall then be in, and what it formerly was. In this point of view it appears to me, that ſuch accounts are far from being uſeleſs.

"Every day I travelled, I wrote down the accounts, juſt as I received them. Whenever I remained for ſome time in the ſame place, I put together what information I had collected, and arranged it in a better order. I have been in many places oftener than once; conſequently the obſervations made concerning them have been written at the different times I happened to be there. It would have been eaſy enough to have put them together into one article: but in that caſe I ſhould not have written merely a *Journal* of my travels, which was what I had wiſhed to do; that being perhaps the only kind of work which does not require greater talents than mine; and where truth can be the principal merit.

"I have

"I have ſometimes made remarks which had properly no connexion with my tour: it is a great ſatisfaction to him who writes for his friends, that he is ſure of their ſympathizing affection, though he ſhould give himſelf up to the ſentiments and feelings of the moment.

"No doubt, I ſtand in need of forgiveneſs, for having occaſionally yielded to an imperious neceſſity, and for having been carried away by the force of impreſſions which were only of a perſonal nature. My friends will view theſe deviations with indulgence; and perhaps they will even experience favour with thoſe readers to whom my preſent ſituation may be known.

"With regard to the ſtile of this work; probably my endeavours to make it as perſpicuous as poſſible, which has been my chief object, has been productive, in ſome places, of tedious prolixity, and frequent tautology. To write with as much purity and correctneſs as we are capable of, we want more leiſure than he can ſpare, who binds himſelf to commit to paper every day the obſervations he has made, whatever may be his ſituation.

"I have ſometimes made uſe of Engliſh terms, and ſometimes turned them into French; always taking pains, however, to tranſlate them as correctly as poſſible: this I have done whenever I found it practicable, and never loſt ſight of the true meaning. Still there are ſome words, which, when tranſlated, do not perfectly convey the ſignification that attached to them

in

in Engliſh: for example—the word *cleared* ſignifies a piece of land where ſome great trees have been felled, and others have had an inciſion cut round them in the bark, and the branches lopt off and burnt, in order that corn may be ſown. This is not perfectly explained by the word *éclairci*, which only means that ſome branches have been cut off, either for the purpoſe of forwarding the growth of thoſe that remain, or of adding to a pleaſant proſpect. The term *defriché* always ſignifies cultivated ground from which the roots have been taken away: but that land which in America is called *cleared*, is frequently *not* cultivated. The French tranſlation of the term *ſtore* is *magazin*; but it is frequently expreſſed by the word *boutique*; and yet neither of theſe words conveys its meaning completely, according to the particular character, object and uſe of a ſtore in America, and eſpecially in places thinly inhabited. The words *magazin* and *boutique* may be met with repeatedly in books of travels, but the reader will never be able from them to form an idea of the meaning which belongs to the word *ſtore* in America. A ſtore is a ſhop or place where all kinds of commodities intended for conſumption are to be found, and ſold by retail; nothing is excluded from it: here are candles and matches, as well as ſtuff and tape. The word *ſettler* has never the ſame meaning with *habitant*. The ſettler, in general, is a man who repairs to a particular place, with an intention of ſettling in it; but he is not always the inhabitant of it. A tract of land is ſaid

to

to be settled, when a sufficient number of inhabitants have fixed themselves in it: but the meaning of this kind of settlement can never be expressed by the words *habité*, *peuplé* or *établié*. In order to express certain circumstances and situations in a new state, it is no extraordinary thing to be obliged to adopt new terms. Therefore, my dear friend, you will, without doubt, forgive me for having attempted to introduce new words into our language.

"In a word, dear Aunt, whatever imperfections this work may possess, I offer it to you with confidence; although to others it may be indifferent, I am certain, that to you it will be abundantly interesting."

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA, CANADA, &c.

IN THE YEARS 1795, 1796, AND 1797.

A RESIDENCE of five months in Philadelphia has afforded me a degree of previous information relative to the United States, from which I cannot fail to derive eſſential ſervice in the courſe of my intended journey. I have had the good fortune to meet with an agreeable young Engliſhman, who is well informed, is a pleaſant companion, and is uncommonly fond of travelling. His name is GUILLEMARD, and he is deſcended from one of thoſe French families, with which our unhappy differences in religious matters enriched England. He has been induced to viſit this part of the world, ſolely by a wiſh to obtain accurate information relative to America, without any view whatever of pecuniary ad-

vantage from his expedition: a rare inſtance of liberality of mind. With a fortune handſome, though not large, he deems himſelf ſufficiently opulent; and the inquiſitive turn of his mind, as well as his diſintereſted temper, diſqualifies him for thoſe purſuits, by which many perſons in this country rapidly enlarge their fortune. I am perſuaded he is the beſt travelling companion I could have found, and I ſhall endeavour to impreſs him with a ſimilar opinion of me before the cloſe of the ſummer.

5th of May, 1795.

We intended to have ſet out at an early hour yeſterday morning, but our departure was delayed till this day at noon; a trifling delay, however, conſidering the length of the journey, on which we enter. We have left Philadelphia. Our party conſiſts of Guillemard, myſelf, his Engliſh ſervant, our three horſes, a fourth to carry our luggage, and my faithful dog *Cartouche*, who has been my conſtant companion theſe ſix years. I left Philadelphia with pleaſure; but I bear with me a ſtrong feeling of gratitude towards a great number of its inhabitants, who have treated me with the

the utmoſt kindneſs. I am particularly impreſſed with ſentiments of affection for the members of the reſpectable family of CHERO, who received me as one of their friends, and who muſt appear highly amiable even to thoſe, who have not ſo many reaſons to praiſe them, as I have. They are good, eſtimable, and agreeable, in every point of view: my warmeſt thanks, my beſt wiſhes remain with them.

Notwithſtanding the kind reception, which I met with in Philadelphia, I am glad I have left it. A poor foreigner, conſtantly overwhelmed with civilities, which he is unable to return, muſt even at beſt lead an unpleaſant life. He endures a ſtate of conſtant dependence, fraught with melancholy reflections, which the apprehenſion of being burthenſome generally inſpires. He imagines himſelf indebted to pity for the kindneſs he experiences, which, did it actually ſpring from that ſource, would be cruelty. Often does he indulge ſuch reflections with injuſtice, miſtruſt being the inſeparable companion of the deſtitute, on whom what is called philoſophy has but little influence.

Hitherto we have travelled in the ſame road,

through which we paſſed about a fortnight ago. In this place I ſhall inſert the journal of that little tour, which, although it bears no proportion in length to the account that I propoſe to write of the remainder of my travels, will not, I truſt, prove wholly unintereſting.

A TOUR TO AND FROM NORRIS TOWN.

ON the twentieth of April Mr. Guillemard, CALEB LOWNES, and myſelf, ſet out on horſeback from Philadelphia, through Ridge Road, on our way to Norris Town. This road, like all the public roads in Pennſylvania, is very bad, for proviſion is brought to that city from all parts in large and heavy laden waggons. The conſtant paſſage of theſe waggons deſtroys the roads, eſpecially near the town, where ſeveral of them meet. Ridge Road is almoſt impaſſable.

The diſtrict of the city extends about four or five miles north and ſouth, and is bounded on the eaſt by the Schuylkill. This extent was originally aſſigned to it by WILLIAM PENN

PENN, when he formed the plan of the city. He promiſed to every ſettler, who ſhould purchaſe five thouſand acres of land in the country, one hundred acres within the city-diſtrict, and two town-ſhares; a promiſe which was faithfully fulfilled by him and by his ſucceſſors, as long as any town-ſhares and acres of land within the diſtrict remained for diſtribution. William Penn kept only five or ſix thouſand acres for himſelf. This land is in its ſoil of a very indifferent quality, but its vicinity to the town occaſions it to be bought with great eagerneſs. It is covered with country-houſes, which, in point of architecture, are very ſimple; from their great number they however enliven and embelliſh the whole neighbourhood. Very few of them are without a ſmall garden; but it is rare to obſerve one, that has a grove adjoining, or that is ſurrounded with trees; it is the cuſtom of the country to have no wood near the houſes. Cuſtoms are ſometimes founded in reaſon, but it is difficult to conjecture the deſign of this practice in a country, where the heat in ſummer is altogether intolerable, and where

the ſtructure of the houſes is deſignedly adapted to exclude that exceſſive heat.*

Land in this neighbourhood is worth about eighty dollars an acre; three years ago it was worth only forty-two. Two miles from the city Ridge Road interſects the entrenchments, which the Engliſh conſtructed during the laſt war, for the purpoſe of covering Philadelphia, after they had penetrated into Pennſylvania through the Cheſapeak. The remains of theſe works are ſtill viſible. But the preſence of the Engliſh is more ſtrongly teſtified by the ruins of many half burnt and half demoliſhed houſes, ſo many expreſſive monuments of that inveterate animoſity, with which the war was carried on, and which was highly diſgraceful to the generous ſentiments of a people, who well know, that every evil inflicted on an enemy, even in time of war, without the plea of neceſſity or advantage, is a crime. Alas! the

* The *reaſon is*, becauſe the country was univerſally wooded, when the building of theſe houſes was firſt begun; and in a country thus wooded, to clear the ſpace round the dwelling-houſe was juſt as natural, as to plant round the houſe in a country otherwiſe bare of wood.—*Tranſlator.*

evils

evils of such a state, however alleviated, will still be far too numerous.

As the country on this side of Philadelphia possesses more variety than on any other, it is here we discover the most agreeable prospects, some of which are truly charming; and more so, the nearer we approach the Schuylkill. The contrast between the rocks, which form the banks of this river, and the numerous meadows and adjacent corn fields, gives this prospect a mixture of romantic wildness, and cultivated beauty, which is really delightful.

The road we have entered does not join the Schuylkill, except near the falls. This name has been very improperly given to a slight inequality in the level of the stream, produced by pieces of rock of unequal size in the bed of the river, which, as they accelerate the motion of the water with a certain noise, obstruct, no doubt, the navigation; yet so far are they from forming any considerable water-fall, that they are entirely covered at high water; and at that time small vessels, which ply along the right bank, pass these *falls*, although not without danger. A small rivulet, which, a short distance above these falls, runs into the

Schuylkill, turns ſeveral tobacco, muſtard, chocolate, paper, and other mills; none of which are conſiderable buildings; but their great variety enlivens and beautifies the land-ſcape. Above the falls, a Mr. NICHOLSON poſſeſſes large iron-works, a button manufactory, and a glaſs-houſe. But none of theſe works are yet completed. The buildings, however, which appear to be well conſtructed, are nearly all finiſhed. A particular building is aſſigned to every different branch of labour; and the largeſt is deſigned for the habitation of the workmen, of whom Mr. Nicholſon will be obliged to keep at leaſt a hundred. Theſe buildings are on the right bank, and the warehouſe, which is to receive the manufactures, is on the oppoſite ſide. The pieces of rock, which occaſion the falls, form an eaſy communication acroſs the river, and would greatly facilitate the conſtruction of a bridge, were ſuch a project to be carried into execution.

The ſituation of this ſettlement is extremely well choſen; for, on the very ſpot where the navigation of the river is intercepted, all the materials neceſſary can be procured from both ſides

ſides of the water. The ſand required for the glaſs-houſe is brought from the banks of the Delaware; the caſt-iron from the higher parts of the Schuylkill, and the pit-coal (which is ſold in Philadelphia at two ſhillings, or four fifteenths of a dollar per buſhel) from Virginia. The completion of the canal, which is to unite the Schuylkill with the Delaware, will greatly facilitate the ſale of the manufactures. The want of theſe commodities, which have hitherto been drawn chiefly from Europe, enſures them a certain market; in ſhort, every thing promiſes ſucceſs to this undertaking. All theſe natural advantages however muſt vaniſh, if ever there ſhould ariſe a want of money, large and prompt ſupplies of which are requiſite to give activity to the whole; as well as judgment, induſtry and economy.

There is in America a ſcarcity of perſons capable of conducting a buſineſs of this kind. There are alſo but few good workmen, who are with difficulty obtained, and whoſe wages are exorbitant. The conductors of Mr. Nicholſon's manufactories are ſaid to be very able men. But then a whole year may elapſe, before the workmen fall into a proper train of buſineſs,

buſineſs, ſo that Mr. Nicholſon's ſituation does not afford the moſt flattering proſpects of ſucceſs, if his returns be not rapid, as well as large.

The conductors of the manufactories being abſent, we were not able to obtain more ample information concerning this eſtabliſhment, and for the ſame reaſon we could not learn, whether it be intended to make uſe of the ſame machines, which are uſed in the great iron-works in Europe. The whole road from Philadelphia to Roxborough is full of granite, and covered with a ſort of mica, which is reducible to the fineſt duſt.

About half a mile from Mr. Nicholſon's buildings, on the bank of the Schuylkill, is the houſe of one ROBERTSON, where we intended firſt to ſtop.

Robertſon, a quaker, and brother of Caleb Lownes's wife, is a miller and farmer on his own account. He poſſeſſes an eſtate of two hundred and fifty acres, of which thirty only are covered with wood. The land is, on the whole, of very inferior quality in this diſtrict. There is but little wheat cultivated here, the common grain being maize, called in America Indian corn, rye, and ſome oats. An acre generally

nerally yields from twenty-five to thirty buſhels of maize, from eighteen to twenty buſhels of rye, and about ten buſhels of wheat. Mr. Robertſon manures his land; but it is a ſurpriſing fact, that he fetches his dung from Philadelphia at the high price of three dollars a load, containing about five cubic feet, when he might eaſily procure it in abundance on his own farm. Seven ſuch loads are allowed to every acre, and his land is manured every three or four years. His meadows are ſuperior to the reſt of his grounds; in common with all other American farmers, he mixes plaſter of Paris with his ſeed. Four oxen and two horſes are ſufficient to do the work of this farm, a part of which is ſo ſteep, as to be incapable of cultivation. Day-labourers are procured here without much difficulty; they receive four ſhillings a day with board, or five ſhillings and nine pence without it. The price of Indian corn is five ſhillings a buſhel, of wheat from nine to twelve, and of barley ſix. Hay is generally ſold at ſixteen or eighteen dollars a tun, but at this time it is thirty-three. Common meadows yield about three tuns, but thoſe in a good ſituation, which are properly cultivated,

ed, and ſown with clover or other graſs, at times produce eight tuns. Mr. Robertſon buys lean cattle, from the fattening of which he derives a profit of ſixteen, twenty, or twenty-five dollars a head. Robertſon however aſſerts, that hay is the moſt lucrative produce ariſing from the meadows; at leaſt it is that which, with equal profit, requires the leaſt toil. I am aſtoniſhed at the ſhallow arguments the farmers of this country offer, to juſtify this favourite ſyſtem, of avoiding whatever requires labour. On this principle Mr. Robertſon will not keep a dairy, or make either butter or cheeſe, though, were he to try the experiment, he would ſoon experience its advantages. It appears, that this cuſtom partly ariſes from the ſcarcity and great expence of labourers, but ſtill more from the prevailing indifference and indolence of the farmers, who prefer the indulgence of this diſpoſition to a ſmall advantage. It is alſo, in ſome meaſure, to be attributed to the national character, in which indolence is a very ſtriking feature. In point of agricultural knowledge, Robertſon is but little ſuperior to the ſervant, who conducts his buſineſs; he is filled with prejudices, and is

even

even ignorant of many things, which in Europe are conſidered as the A B C of huſbandry.*

He appears, however, to be far more ſkilful, as a miller. His mill, which is ſaid to be the firſt that was built in America, is worked by a rivulet, called Wiſſahiccon, which turns twenty-five other mills, before it reaches Robertſon's. It has three water-courſes, and three ſeparate mills, two of which work for the manufactory, as they call it, and one for the public. The latter grinds all the corn which is brought hither, without the leaſt alteration of the mill-ſtones, in its paſſing from the grain to the flour; which naturally renders the meal very indifferent: the miller's due is one tenth, according to the law of the land. Robertſon does not grind any Indian corn on his own account, nor has he any kiln to dry it. Meal from this corn is not bad, if

* This indifference to improvement, of which the Duke complains, is *always* to be obſerved while agriculture is in its infancy in a country, and while there is *enough of land*, but little accumulated ſtock. It is the characteriſtic of a particular ſtate of ſociety; and does not originate from the accidental and peculiar cauſes, to which he aſcribes it.—*Tranſlator.*

ſpeedily

ſpeedily uſed; but it is not fit for being long kept, and yields but little.

The corn is brought hither in waggons, and the cranes, inſtead of turning it out of the veſſel, lift it up from the waggons into the granary, which is very ſmall; and the corn lies in heaps, the ſeveral floors being low, dark and dirty.

Robertſon grinds yearly from forty-five to about fifty thouſand buſhels of corn, which he procures from Virginia and New-York; and ſome is even brought from the upper parts of Pennſylvania. There are, however, ſo many mills along the Schuylkill, that he receives but little from that part of the country. The grain procured from the other ſide of the bay comes by Philadelphia, from which it is brought to the mill, which is large enough to contain about ten thouſand buſhels. Six horſes are conſtantly employed in carrying the meal to Philadelphia, and bringing back corn in return. This journey is often performed twice a day. The water of the Wiſſahiccon is never frozen, nor does the mill ever ceaſe working, except in a caſe of the utmoſt neceſſity. Mr. Robertſon employs about his mill five men,

three

three of whom he pays; he gives one hundred and twenty dollars a year to the firſt, and eighty to each of the other two. The reſt are apprentices, who receive nothing but victuals, clothes, &c. A barrel of flour is at this time* worth ten dollars. Robertſon complains of the quality of the grain of laſt year, which, he ſays, is not heavy, but in general hollow. I have, however, ſeen ſome very good grain of laſt year. I heard him ſay that grain, attacked by the Heſſian fly, notwithſtanding it becomes bad and hollow, yields flour, which, though ſomewhat indigeſtible, is not quite unwholeſome. The banks of the Schuylkill were viſited laſt year by great numbers of theſe flies.

The county-rates are the ſame at Roxborough as in the whole diſtrict of Philadelphia, of which this place forms a part, namely, from five to ſix ſhillings per cent. upon all property. The other taxes have of late been reduced to little or nothing. A perſon in affluent circumſtances pays but one or two ſhillings towards the repair of the high-roads. Poor-rates are quite unknown, as there are ſeldom any poor in the country; and a ſmall ſum has been

* Twentieth of April, 1795.

laid

laid up in the bank for the ſupport of the poor,—if there ſhould be any; which ſtock yields annually about forty or forty-two dollars, and theſe are added to the capital. There is alſo a moderate tax of ſix or ſeven ſhillings on every hundred pounds a man is worth, which he pays as an offering towards the public ſervice of the ſtate, that he may remain undiſturbed in the enjoyment of his property. And this is ſix miles from Philadelphia —ſurely this muſt be a happy country.*

The Wiſſahiccon flows between hills, which are high and covered with wood. A fine water-fall of about ſeven or eight feet, and as broad as the bed of the rivulet, ſupplies Robertſon with more water than would be required for turning many more mills. The banks of the rivulet bear a wild and romantic appearance, and the brook, winding in the moſt beautiful meanders through the woods

* It is the proportion between, *on the one hand*, what may be gained in every ſituation, with *the diverſity* of ſuch ſituations—and, *on the other hand*, what is *to be paid for public protection*, with the *degree of ſecurity and comfort* ſuch protection may give;—which is the ſole and preciſe point upon which an eſtimation like that which the Duke here makes.—*Tranſlator.*

and

and rocks, forms a grand, yet gloomy, proſpect, which catches and detains the eye, and diſpoſes the mind to penſive reflection. The various ſituations of this ſublunary life preſent to us the ſame objects in very different points of view. How different are the impreſſions I now feel, from the pleaſing ſenſations with which memory and hope once enlivened my fancy—but I will depart, and be happy, that I may not enhance my miſfortunes by painful reflections.

From Roxborough we proceeded on to Springmill. After having left the banks of the Schuylkill, we travelled through a tract of country interſected by a regularly alternate ſucceſſion of hills and vallies. We found here ſeveral badly watered meadows, which are capable of great improvements. The farms here are very cloſe to one another; all the land is cultivated; very little wood is to be ſeen, at leaſt, without going to a diſtance from the highway. As we proceed, the country becomes extremely beautiful. The corn-fields are now green, the leaves begin to ſprout forth, and the fruit-trees are covered with bloſſoms; all nature revives, her face glows with life and beauty; and my temper has not yet attained ſo great a degree of apathy, as to

render me inſenſible to the charms of this ſeaſon, which always captivated me with irreſiſtible power. Yet the uninterrupted and high fences of dry wood greatly disfigure the landſcape, and produce a tedious ſameneſs. Theſe might be eaſily replaced by trees which endure the froſt, as thorns are ſuppoſed here (I think without any juſt ground) to be unſuitable to the climate. Some of the fields along the road are bordered with *thaga* or cedar, but theſe experiments are rare; and, in general, the land is incloſed with double fences of wood. The country is covered with neat houſes, ſurrounded with painted railings; which indicate proſperity, without reminding us of thoſe European eſtates, which are either enriched by a refined agriculture, or ornamented with coſtly and elegant country-ſeats.

Near Springmill we again ſaw the Schuylkill. Springmill conſiſts of eighteen or twenty habitations, which lie cloſe to each other, and are moſtly either farms or mills; it is ſituated in a valley, far more extenſive and ſpacious than any we have hitherto paſſed; and the ſoil is alſo ſuperior. The greateſt part is graſs land, extending as far as the river; while the oppoſite bank, ſteep, woody, and even ſomewhat rocky, forms a beautiful

a beautiful contraſt with the charming plains of Springmill. The proſpect up and down the river is extenſive, and ſtrikingly variegated by green meadows and dark mountains.

Springmill is the place, where is ſituated the farm, mentioned by BRISSOT in his travels, as being cultivated by a Frenchman, whoſe ſkill and philoſophy he highly praiſes. This Frenchman, of whoſe name Briſſot gives only the initial, is Mr. LEGAUX. His farm has been ſold on account of his inability to pay the ſecond inſtallment of the purchaſe-money. He now actually rents fifteen acres, which he has converted into a vineyard. But the preſent moment is by no means the time, in which vineyards appear to the greateſt advantage; the vine ſcarcely begins to bud, and is almoſt without life. The ſoil is very good, and, as far as we were able to judge, well choſen, both on account of its ſunny ſituation and interior quality; and the cleanlineſs, as well as ſkill, with which the ground is managed, is very remarkable. No kitchen-garden can be in better order; the vine-props are already fixed in the ground. The fifteen acres give employment to ſix labourers, whom Mr. Legaux procures without much trouble; he pays them three ſhil-

lings and nine pence, and provides them victuals. His dwelling is a ſmall ſtone cottage, one ſtory high, about twenty feet in breadth and ten feet deep; a very indifferent, dirty kitchen, ſeparated by a wainſcot partition from a real alcove, which contains a miſerable bed, conſtitutes all the apartments of this cottage. In the ſmall room were jumbled together in one confuſed heap, books, furniture, papers, glaſſes, bottles, and philoſophical inſtruments. The ſight of a man of liberal education reduced to ſuch penury, excites a painful ſenſation.

Mr. Legaux was not at home on our arrival; we were informed that he was in Philadelphia, as, no doubt, we were ſuſpected as unwelcome viſitors. He was, however, at a neighbour's; and we had no ſooner left his houſe to remount our horſes, than we were called back, and he haſtened up to us. To an unfortunate man, reduced to ſuch a ſtate of retirement, the viſit of three ſtrangers is an occurrence not to be ſlighted. He knew that one of the three ſtrangers was a Frenchman, for I had left my card. The view of a countryman at ſo great a diſtance from our native land, is far more pleaſing than that of any other perſon. It is ſo at leaſt to me, though the

pleaſing

pleaſing ſenſation I feel on ſuch occaſions, is frequently embittered by the thought, that at this unfortunate period of the revolution a Frenchman is ſometimes the very worſt company which a Frenchman can meet.

Mr. Legaux accoſted us with a countenance which apparently beſpoke content. His dreſs perfectly correſponded with the reſt of his eſtabliſhment. A long coarſe flannel waiſtcoat, black breeches, and ſtockings full of holes, and a dirty night-cap, formed his whole attire. He is a man of about fifty or fifty-five years of age; his eyes are very lively, and his whole phyſiognomy indicates cunning rather than goodneſs of heart. In the courſe of the ſhort converſation we had with him, he told us, that the cruel and rigorous conduct of the perſon of whom he had bought the eſtate, which he poſſeſſed at the time of *poor* Briſſot's viſit (this was his expreſſion), had compelled him to ſell it again, and to rent the ſmall vineyard which he was now cultivating. He conſiders the ſucceſs of this enterprize as certain, and thinks that it will prove very lucrative to him. He aſſured us that his wines are already very good, though the oldeſt of them had not yet been in the cellar more than two

years. They are Medot vines; and one vine of the Cape of Good Hope, for which he paid forty guineas, has already produced nearly two hundred layers. He ſaid that his wine is of a peculiar flavour, yet more like the "*vin de Grave*" than any other wine. He pays a rent of ſixty-two dollars for his fifteen acres. This is, in few words, the ſubſtance of all we could learn concerning his plantation. On our aſking him why he ſettled in America nine years ſince? he acquainted us that he was an advocate in the parliament of Metz, but left his ſituation and his country to aſſiſt his friend, Mr. FOULQUIER, in his functions, as intendant of Guadaloupe, and that this intendant having been ſtrongly ſuſpected of mal-adminiſtration in the colonies, had exculpated himſelf by throwing all the blame on him, Legaux, whoſe purity of ſentiments had ever been equal to his zeal for his ungrateful friend. None of his expreſſions beſpoke that tranquillity and peace of mind, which a man might be ſuppoſed to enjoy who thus withdraws from the world to lead a ſequeſtered life, and cultivate the ground. He even appeared diſſatisfied with every one, eſpecially with the Americans, of whom he repeated twenty times that

we

we could never entertain too much ſuſpicion. Although this man received us kindly, and ſpoke many handſome things of my family as well as of myſelf, aſſuring me that he had heard a great deal about me previouſly to my leaving France, yet I was diſpleaſed with him, and he excited in me rather diſapprobation of what he termed his misfortunes, than compaſſion for his preſent ſituation, though my frame of mind was much in favour of the latter. What I heard concerning him, on my return to Philadelphia, has confirmed me in my opinion. He is a worthleſs, litigious man, who, during the nine years he has reſided in America, has been engaged in upwards of two hundred law-ſuits, not one of which he has gained. However ſtrong may be our prepoſſeſſion againſt America, it is highly improbable that juſtice ſhould ſo obſtinately be denied to a foreigner. On the contrary, it is much more likely that a man who has entered or defended two hundred actions, muſt have been actuated ſolely by a litigious diſpoſition, and that none of his claims were well grounded; eſpecially if he himſelf conducted the ſuit, which is extremely probable, as he was formerly a lawyer. Mr. Legaux's reputation at Philadelphia is not of the beſt complexion,

and I verily believe that if an enquiry were made into the affairs of Guadaloupe, the reſult would not prove favourable to this ſage, this philanthropiſt, this philoſopher, (on whom *poor* Briſſot paſſes ſo high an eulogium,) who cannot live in peace with his neighbours, but quarrels with every one about him.

We left the Schuylkill by Springmill, to ſtrike to the ſhorteſt road to Norris Town: the land is of the ſame deſcription with that which we had juſt paſſed. On the road from Roxborough to Norris Town we had now and then a view of the river, and at times alſo of a more diſtant range of ſmall hills, riſing in the form of an amphitheatre; this is a branch of the *Valley-hills*, which form a part of the *Blue Mountains*.

Norris Town is the chief town of the county of Montgomery, about ſeven miles from Philadelphia. This *chief town of the county* conſiſts of ten buildings, in one of which the ſeſſions are held; in another the judges reſide when they come to hold the aſſizes; a third is the county jail; three others are inns; the reſt are farm houſes, ſhops, or habitations of labourers. All the houſes are ſtrongly built of ſtone. Norris Town, ſituated on an eminence, about a quarter

ter of a mile from the Schuylkill, enjoys a grand and very extenſive proſpect; and forms itſelf, even viewed at a diſtance, a very ſtriking and conſpicuous object. The quarter-ſeſſions are held here regularly, but the circuit-courts only once a year, and at times only every two or three years, when there are no cauſes. The jail was built about two or three years ago, after that of Philadelphia. But, thanks to the penal code of Pennſylvania, it is ſeldom inhabited by any other perſon than the keeper. When we viſited it, a Frenchman was confined there on ſtrong ſuſpicion of having forged a bank note: he is to remain in this priſon until the next quarter-ſeſſions, when he will be either acquitted or removed to Philadelphia, unleſs the circuit ſhould happen to be held in that town. The priſon-gate was open, and the priſoner might have effected his eſcape without any difficulty, had he been the leaſt inclined to do ſo. But he did not eſcape, either from a reliance on his innocence, which I wiſh may be the caſe, or from the riſk of being taken again. It is no eaſy matter to diſcover the neceſſity, nay, the utility of ſuch confidence as this, which is more nearly allied to indolence than humanity. It is juſt as difficult to aſſign a reaſon why a Frenchman,

Frenchman, who is a villain, or at leaſt a man of ſo bad a character as this priſoner, who in France would have attempted twenty times to eſcape from priſon, yet remains quietly in Norris Town, where the doors ſtand open to him. Pretenders to philoſophy, and Briſſot for one, will ſay, that the certitude of impartial juſtice being adminiſtered to him, retains the priſoner more effectually in his priſon than fetters; that in a republic every one conſiders himſelf as the guardian of the law, even againſt himſelf, &c. All this may ſatisfy thoſe who are contented with words, but is not ſufficient to explain this extraordinary fact to him who prefers ſound argument to unphiloſophical jargon. It may perhaps beſt be accounted for from the circumſtance that this man would find it impoſſible to ſubſiſt any where elſe but in priſon.

The ſoil about Norris Town is very good, which is here ſomewhat more the object of culture than near Roxborough, yet is not even produced here in great quantity. The ſyſtem of agriculture is much the ſame, and the average produce nearly the ſame, perhaps ſomewhat greater. The beſt land is worth from forty-eight to fifty-two dollars; the inferior ſort from twenty-ſix to thirty.

Labour

Labour is cheaper here than at Roxborough and Springmill. The price of proviſions is lower than in Philadelphia, though not much; there being no nearer market than that town, all the produce of this country is carried thither. Beef is ſold at, from ſix to ſeven pence a pound, bacon at one ſhilling a pound, and flour five one-half dollars the hundred weight.

The county-rates of Montgomery amount to no more than about three ſhillings for every hundred pounds, and one ſhilling towards the repairs of the roads; thus a per centage of four ſhillings on all taxable property is the total amount of the public taxes. Poor-rates are ſeldom neceſſary, though this place is not poſſeſſed of the ſame reſource of a fund, eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe, as Roxborough. There are at preſent no paupers here; and when there are, a rate of one ſhilling is fully ſufficient for their maintenance. Each pauper is boarded in ſome family or other, and his board and lodging are paid for by the pariſh. It is the duty of the overſeers to take care that the pauper be well treated, and that the pariſh be not impoſed upon by improper charges. All the poor conſiſt of perſons afflicted by ſickneſs, or rendered incapable of labour by old age.

The

The canal, intended to join the Schuylkill with the Delaware, begins at Norris Town, and half a mile of it on this ſide is completely finiſhed. Its bed, which was parallel to the river, is about eighteen or twenty feet in breadth, and three feet deep. The canal is opened about three miles farther. Here marble rocks are to be cut through, which ſlope down to the river. This is a laborious, as well as very expenſive, undertaking; as every cubic toiſe of rough ſtone coſts nine ſhillings, and fifty workmen only are employed in this work. The canal, when finiſhed, will be of great advantage to Philadelphia; but when will it be finiſhed! It is begun near the town on a very bad plan; in ſome places it is filled up with ſand that has been waſhed together to the height of ten feet, which can never keep water. It is reported, that Mr. WATSON, an Engliſh engineer, who ſuperintends the conſtruction of this canal, very particularly recommended that it might be dug on the oppoſite bank of the Schuylkill, as it would be much more ſolid there; but as it was much to the intereſt of the directors of the company, that the canal ſhould paſs through their eſtates, they were deaf to every other propoſal, and the canal is now executed on the moſt

difficult

difficult and moſt circuitous plan, with little proſpect of ſucceſs. The money for conſtructing the canal, began already to fall ſhort of the ſum required, and ſeveral ſubſcribers kept back their ſubſcriptions beyond the limited time of payment, even at the hazard of forfeiting the ſum already paid, as well as all claims to the advantages reſulting from the completion of the canal, rather than they would incur the riſk of ſinking a further ſum, when the legiſlative power, appriſed of the obſtacles which obſtructed the completion of the work, granted a lottery to raiſe a ſum of four hundred thouſand dollars, intended for the execution of all practicable plans of inland navigation, one hundred and thirty-three thouſand dollars of which are to be appropriated to the completion of the Schuylkill canal. If the meaſure of a ſtate lottery can ever be juſtified by the vaſt utility of the object to which the money it produces is applied, it certainly is ſo in the preſent inſtance. But among a corrupt people, crimes and vices are generally encreaſed by the inſtitution of a lottery; and can the legiſlature of Pennſylvania flatter itſelf, that it will not conſiderably add to the corruption and immorality of the inhabitants by an eſtabliſhment ſo extremely

tremely dangerous, and of which a very immoderate uſe has already been made in America?

After having viewed the canal, as far as it is at preſent finiſhed, we viſited the quarries which yield the marble, of which nearly all the chimney-pieces in Philadelphia, as well as the ornaments of many ſtreet-doors, ſteps before the houſes, and windows are formed. This marble is black and white, and very hard. It is found in great abundance in the quarries, which have hitherto only been opened in theſe places, and not to any great extent. It is, however, true, that we ſaw the principal quarry only, and that many others have been opened in the neighbourhood. We were even told of a quarry where the marble is all white, but it was at too great a diſtance to be viſited by us. That which we ſaw is in the diſtrict of Plymouth, where there is alſo a mill with two ſaws for cutting marble, which lies on the rivulet Plymouth. The mill contains nothing worthy of notice, but its ſituation is extremely pictureſque and pleaſant.

The whole tract of country from Norris Town to within one or two miles from Roxborough, is covered with lime-ſtone, more or leſs perfect. The ſtrata are moſtly inclined, forming an angle

of

of forty-five degrees, and in ſome places interſperſed with hard quarry-ſtone, and even with flints. We found in the road a great quantity of hard ſtone; a quarry, or variety of the granite-ſtones, which contain about three or four cubic feet, ſeem to be waſhed up by the water. Between Roxborough and Philadelphia granite is again found, and the earth is covered with mica.

We are again in the ſame inn, at which we put up before. The landlord is making a well, and the ground, where they are digging it, being very looſe, he lines it with a large wooden cylinder, five feet in diameter, and within the cylinder conſtructs a wall eighteen inches thick.

May the 6th, 1795.

From Norris Town to Trap the country is much varied, very hilly, highly cultivated, with little wood-land, many orchards and meadows, water in abundance, brooks, ſprings, and creeks of every ſize; two of the latter, which are by no means ſmall, we forded, namely, the Shipack, eleven miles from Norris Town, and the Pachiomming, two miles farther on; they were both ſomewhat deep. The roads are very bad, and no attempts are made to repair them; we cannot, therefore,

therefore, be ſurprized at hearing, that ſo many ſtage-coaches are overturned.

Trap is a village in the diſtrict of Providence, which is the largeſt and moſt affluent in the whole county. The ſoil, which is very good, is cultivated in the ſame manner as in other places; more land lies in graſs here, than we have ſeen any where ſince we left Philadelphia. There are four different churches in this diſtrict, where, as in all the other ſtates, the miniſter is paid by thoſe only who belong to his ſect. The ſpeakers among the people called Quakers are the only ones who preach gratis. The manner of paying for divine ſervice is the ſame as in Philadelphia; people pay for their ſeats in the church.

The proviſion produced in the diſtrict of Providence is ſold in the market of Philadelphia. The taxes in this diſtrict, as well as in the county, amount to about eighteen pence for every hundred pounds of taxable property, with the exception of the poor-rates. The poor are rather numerous in this diſtrict, and ſix hundred and forty dollars are raiſed yearly for their ſupport. The common price of labour is three ſhillings and ſix-pence a day, with board; and the price of land fluctuates between thirty-two and forty-

ſeven

ſeven dollars per acre, in proportion to the ſtate of its incloſures, cultivation, and buildings. Bread made of rye or Indian corn is the common food of the labourer, who, in addition to this, has meat three times a day.

We arrived at Trap, and intended to dine at Pottſgrove; but we were under the neceſſity of returning by the ſame road we had come. The ſervant, who ſhould have joined us an hour before, did not arrive; and as we knew this delay muſt have been occaſioned by ſome accident, we were determined to learn what it was. We met him about a mile from Trap, leading both his horſes by the bridle, but without the baggage, which had fallen off four miles farther back, and our poor Joſeph being unable to procure any aſſiſtance, and ſuppoſing that we ſhould be uneaſy on his account, had left it in the care of a woman, and had proceeded thus far to inform us of his misfortune. We therefore returned the other four miles, and placed the baggage again on the horſe, but in ſo indifferent a manner, that after we had travelled two miles, it was again likely to fall off. Mr. Guillemard, taking every thing into conſideration, convinced us, that the horſe was too heavily, as well as unſkilfully laden,

and we therefore reſolved to procure a waggon, to convey our baggage to the inn.

During our ſtay at the inn, to which we returned, we learned, in the courſe of converſation with a ſurgeon, that the number of gentlemen of his profeſſion is pretty conſiderable in this diſtrict; that one is to be met with every ſix or ſeven miles; that their fee for a viſit at the diſtance of two miles, is one ſhilling, and every additional mile adds one ſhilling more, beſides the charge for medicines; that inoculation of children for the ſmall-pox is very common; that the fee for this operation amounts to two dollars; that the moſt a phyſician of known abilities can make, in this part of the country, is one thouſand three hundred dollars a year, but that very few make ſo much, in conſequence of which, all medical men, with few exceptions, follow ſome other employment beſides their profeſſion, and become either farmers or ſhop-keepers, to increaſe their income.

Although the inn, at which we put up, was not that which had been pointed out to us, and was, in fact, no better than a ſmall, miſerable alehouſe lately opened; yet we met with very good accommodation. We had tea and coffee for breakfaſt; bacon, tongue, and eggs for dinner,

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and every thing tolerably clean. Whilſt we were contriving the means of ſending our baggage to Reading, the ſtage-coach happened to paſs, and took charge of it: we then continued our journey to Pottſgrove.

The road thither is exactly of the ſame deſcription with that between Norris Town and Trap. The ground where it conſiſts of ſand, is good, but extremely bad where the ſoil is rich, having been entirely ſoaked through by the rain, which fell the day before yeſterday; the ſoil conſiſts, in general, of a ferruginous earth, particularly near Pottſgrove. The landſcape is beautiful along this road, abounding with a great variety of fine views, wonderfully enlivened by the verdure of the corn-fields and meadows. We paſſed through ſome parts of the country, where the graſs was fine, ſtrong, and thick, in ſhort, as good as it could poſſibly be. If agriculture were better underſtood in theſe parts; if the fields were well mowed and well fenced; and if ſome trees had been left ſtanding in the middle or on the borders of the meadows, the moſt beautiful parts of Europe could not be more pleaſing. But theſe eternal fences of dead wood, theſe dry maize-ſtubbles of laſt year, theſe decayed trees,

which are left ſtanding until they are rotten, and the abſolute want of verdant trees in the corn-fields and meadows, greatly impair the beauty of the landſcape, but without being able entirely to deſtroy its variety and charms.

The country about Pottſgrove is ſtill more pleaſant; the plain, in which this ſmall market-town is ſituate, is more extenſive than any we have hitherto ſeen, and, at the ſame time, is in the higheſt degree of cultivation. The *foreſt-mountains*, which are in ſight on the left and in the front, form beautiful borders to this landſcape.

In the neighbourhood of Pottſgrove we again diſcovered the Schuylkill, which we had left near Norris Town. Along its whole courſe its banks are delightful, and all the land, through which it paſſes, is good. I do not know a finer river in point of water and views. If European taſte and magnificence adorned the banks of the Schuylkill with country-ſeats, it would not be excelled either by the Seine or the Thames.

Pottſgrove is a market town, and originally laid out by a quaker-family, of the name of POTT. About forty years ago they purchaſed land of the ſtate at a very low price, and ſold it afterwards at

at a considerable profit, according as it was more or less sought after. It is now worth thirty dollars in the town, and from thirty to thirty-seven in the adjacent country. The family of Pott have established considerable iron forges, and by means of these much increased the fortune, which they acquired by the sale of the lands. They are generally supposed to be very rich. Pottsgrove consists at present of about thirty well built houses, and belongs to the district of Douglas, which forms a part of the county of Montgomery. The poors-rate are very inconsiderable, and all necessaries of life are cheaper here by nearly half than at Philadelphia.

As I alighted from my horse, I discovered a Frenchman, among the several persons who were standing at the door of the inn, by a certain characteristic deportment, which is easily discernible in individuals of all nations, but more particularly so in a Frenchman. An involuntary movement, some natural feeling, drew me towards him. His name is GERBIER; he is a nephew of the celebrated advocate of Paris, by whom he was brought up, and the son of a famous advocate at Rennes, of whom he has received no intelligence during these last ten months.

In St. Domingo, where he reſided formerly as a merchant, he married a Creole, a friend and ſchool companion of Madame de MONTULÉ, with whom he lives in one of the houſes of this borough.

It is impoſſible to meet with a Frenchman in theſe times, without being called upon to liſten to the hiſtory of his loſſes, his misfortunes, and to his reſentments naturally reſulting from them. Mr. Gerbier's account of his misfortunes, however, was very ſhort, though they appear to me very great. As to his reſentment, he expreſſed himſelf on this point as a man of ſenſe, who wiſhes not to entertain any. He ſeemed melancholy and dejected, yet poſſeſſing a ſtrong mind. Misfortunes, borne with patience and reſignation, are ever ſure to excite compaſſion: I heartily ſympathiſe in thoſe, which have fallen to his lot. He poſſeſſes a ſmall portion of land in Aſylum, whither he intends to remove, as ſoon as his wife has recovered from her lying-in. He ſpoke with much praiſe of M. de BLACONS, of the excellent Mr. KEATING, of M. DE MONTULÉ, and of DU PETIT THOUARS. He appeared to me a mild and worthy man, but rather too much depreſſed by misfortune; for, at his age, and with his

his abilities, he might find numerous reſources in this country. After he had left me, he received a letter from his mother, a lady turned of ſeventy. She informed him, that ſhe and his father were both well; that they had fortunately eſcaped the dreadful guillotine, the drownings and ſhootings, which would ever diſgrace the French revolution; that they could not ſend him any money at that time, but that they would pay any ſum, for which he choſe to draw on them. This wiſe and ſenſible letter was written, however, in the language of liberty. The poor young man was happy to perceive, that I participated in his joy; and yet this glimpſe of ſun-ſhine was not able to diſperſe the profound melancholy which clouded his mind. I muſt obſerve, that Mr. Gerbier's mother, in the deſcription which ſhe gave of the ſituation of France, ſpoke of great diſtreſs, and eſpecially of the depreciation of aſſignats, which was ſo great, that a fowl coſt two hundred livres in paper money, and three livres in ſpecie.

The inn at Pottſgrove is very good; it is kept by a German. The inhabitants of this borough are moſtly Germans. Here we found the ſtage-coach, by which we had ſent our luggage; but the letter-caſe, which contained Mr. Guille-

mard's money, had been left behind in Trap. Endeavouring to think of every thing, my travelling companion thinks, in fact, of nothing. Thus we are obliged to ſend back to Trap, to fetch the letter-caſe, even if it be not ſtolen, a point which we ſhall learn to-morrow at Reading.

On Thurſday, the 7th,

We ſtopped at the White Horſe, four miles from Pottſgrove. This inn is kept by a Frenchman, a native of Lorrain, who has married an American woman, the daughter of a native of Avignon, by a woman from Franche-Comté. The whole family ſpeak bad Engliſh and bad French, but probably good German. They pay a rent of eighty-ſix dollars for fifty acres of land and the houſe; their owner lives very near, and keeps a ſhop. The houſe and the land, which is of very good quality, would have been worth ſixty dollars more, had it been let to a private family. But the ſhopkeeper had very juſtly calculated, that a good tavern ſo near his houſe was of more value to him than ſixty dollars, and that a well frequented inn could not but procure cuſtomers to his ſhop, from whom he would

would be likely to derive advantages far exceeding the ſum which he thus ſacrificed.

The good people of the inn enquired with much eagerneſs for news from France. My friend told them, that it would be obliged to ſuſtain another and more dreadful campaign. "How! a ſtill more dreadful one than the preceding campaign," they exclaimed, "notwithſtanding the Engliſh were beaten laſt year?" "There are many other enemies," replied my friend, "Ruſſians, Auſtrians." "Aye, aye," ſaid the good people, "all thoſe who do not like liberty; but the French will nevertheleſs triumph, if it pleaſe God, over all the ſ———." Theſe are the ſentiments, and ſuch is the language of moſt Americans; and indeed this muſt be the opinion of all, who are not acquainted with the crimes attending our revolution; and even they who are ſo, very juſtly impute them to the various factions, and carefully diſtinguiſh and ſeparate them from the cauſe of liberty. The principles and conduct of the coaleſced powers are treated with the ſame degree of indignation as thoſe of the terroriſts. The leſs informed claſs of men conſider the matter in this light, and, in fact, in this light it ſhould be conſidered

conſidered by all, who are able to lay aſide for a moment their grief and their misfortunes, and to contemplate the true nature of the caſe with a calm, unbiaſſed mind. Liberty is now ſtruggling with deſpotiſm. If the cauſe of liberty prove triumphant, it will be able to organize itſelf, and to acquire regularity and order; it will ceaſe to be anarchy, and become true national freedom. If deſpotiſm triumph, it will organize itſelf for no other purpoſe, but to enſlave the world.

The ſituation of this borough, and likewiſe of all other places on the road from Pottſgrove to Reading, is delightful. Indeed the country appears to become more lively and populous, the nearer we approach the latter town. Corn and ſaw mills are numerous here; and there are many creeks with ſtrong currents, which turn the wheels of ſome iron-forges. The mountains, which riſe on the banks of the Schuylkill, and ſeparate Reading from the other part of the county, begin to form a ridge, which at firſt ſtretches along under the name of Oley Hills, and afterwards takes that of Lehi-hill. Thoſe marks of the increaſing improvement of the country, which are obſervable as far as Bethlem

and

and the Delaware, are alſo perceivable here. Log-houſes, conſtructed of trunks of trees, laid one upon another, the interſtices of which are filled up with clay, are ſeen no longer, having been replaced by framed houſes, conſiſting however of balks, properly hewn and ſhaped, and covered with boards; and even buildings of a ſtill better conſtruction are already to be ſeen in ſome parts. They now build only with ſtone and brick, and no woodland remains to be converted into arable ground. The wood that is ſtanding is left for conſumption. Oak ſells at three dollars and half, and hickory at four dollars and half a fathom. A few miles from Reading the price of land is from twenty-five to thirty dollars, if covered with wood; and from one hundred and ten to one hundred and thirty dollars if graſs-land. Day labourers receive three ſhillings, carpenters and maſons four ſhillings a day.

We overtook the ſtage-coach again at the White Horſe, where the paſſengers breakfaſted. It appears ſomewhat ſtrange to Europeans, to ſee the coachman eat at the ſame table with the paſſengers; but it would ſeem equally ſtrange to Americans, to ſee the coachman eating

ing by himſelf. It is futile to argue againſt the cuſtoms of a country; we muſt ſubmit. Equality, pretended equality, which widely differs from true freedom, is the foundation of this cuſtom, which, in fact, injures nobody; it is for the ſame reaſon, that the ſervants, who wait at dinner or breakfaſt, are ſeated, except while they are ſerving you, and that the landlord attends you with his hat on his head. A man may be allowed to diſlike this cuſtom, without poſſeſſing any extravagant ſhare of weak pride. An inn-keeper, a ſhoe-maker, a taylor, are naturally at liberty to wait on people, or to let it alone; but if they chooſe to wait on others, they ſhould keep at a proper diſtance, and obſerve the reſpect, which becomes their ſituation. It muſt be obſerved, however, that many an inn-keeper in America is a captain or a major; nay, I have ſeen drivers of ſtage-coaches, who were colonels; ſuch things are very common in America. There is much greater propriety in the cuſtom that prevails in England, where the tradeſman is treated with politeneſs and reſpect by his employers, whilſt he, in return, obſerves the due decorum of his ſituation, without meanly ſacrificing that noble principle of liberty, which every Engliſhman

Engliſhman cheriſhes with conſcious pride: it will ſoon be the ſame in France.

Reading, the chief town of the county of Berks, which contains about thirty thouſand inhabitants, is ſituate on the banks of the Schuylkill. The building of the firſt houſes commenced in 1752. The family of Penn repurchaſed the land, which they had originally diſpoſed of, for the purpoſe of building on this ſpot the chief town of the county. It conſiſts at preſent of about five hundred houſes; a few of thoſe which were firſt built are ſtill ſtanding; they are log-houſes, and the interſtices between the trunks of the trees are filled up with ſtone or plaſter. In conſequence of the ſlight manner in which they were finiſhed, ſeveral of them have tumbled down; vanity has pulled down others; but all thoſe built within theſe few laſt years are of ſtone or brick, and have a neat appearance. The town is improving in point of buildings; the ſtreets are broad and ſtraight, and the foot-paths are ſhaded by trees, planted in front of the houſes.

This town has little or no trade, and ſcarcely any manufactures. There is one, at which a conſiderable number of coarſe hats are fabricated of

of wool, procured from Philadelphia, to which place the hats are ſent for ſale; with a few tan-yards, which prepare leather for the conſumption of the town and neighbouring country. The population of Reading is eſtimated at about two thouſand five hundred ſouls, conſiſting chiefly of lawyers and inn-keepers. Some new houſes were built in the courſe of laſt year; but no increaſe of the number of inhabitants has been obſerved for ſeveral years. They are all either Germans, or of German deſcent; great numbers of the inhabitants of the town and neighbouring country do not underſtand a word of Engliſh, and yet all the public acts, and all the judicial proceedings are drawn up and conducted in the Engliſh language. Hence it often happens, in the courſe of law-ſuits, that the judges underſtand no German, and the parties, witneſſes, and jurymen, no Engliſh, which renders the conſtant attendance of interpreters neceſſary, to repeat to the judges the depoſition of the witneſſes, and to the jurymen the ſumming-up of the judges. The adminiſtration of juſtice is therefore extremely imperfect. Many law-ſuits, however, having no other object than to ſatisfy the hatred and paſſion of the moment, by dragging

ging an adverſary before the judge, both parties are frequently ſatisfied with the ſentence, of whatever complexion it may be. How many differences might be ſettled on amicable terms, but for this revengeful diſpoſition to proceed to extremities, which prevails in all countries, and enſures to lawyers a certain ſubſiſtence; or rather how many law-ſuits might be accommodated, but for the great number of lawyers and courts of juſtice! Law-ſuits are very frequent in Reading, and originate chiefly in debts, quarrels, and aſſaults.

There is a printer in Reading, who publiſhes a German gazette weekly; the price is a dollar a year. The ſale extends as far as Pittſburg, and does not exceed one thouſand one hundred copies. Every one here, as well as in all other parts of America, takes an intereſt in ſtate affairs, is extremely eager to learn the news of the day, and diſcuſſes politics as well as he is able.

There are three churches in Reading; one for the people called *Quakers*, another for *Roman Catholics*, and the third for *Lutherans*. The two laſt are much frequented by Germans, in whoſe native language the ſermons are delivered.

Every

Every one pays for the ſupport of that form of worſhip, which he has choſen for himſelf, frequently without attending it, which is to his taſte, to which he is accuſtomed, or which ſome whim or other moves him to prefer. Generally ſpeaking, few men go to church, at leaſt few of the firſt claſs. Religious worſhip is left chiefly to the women, who, forming the leaſt buſy claſs of mankind, are the moſt aſſiduous frequenters of the theatres and the churches. The Lutheran church is much reſorted to in the morning, and the Roman Catholic ſervice in the evening. The miniſters, who are paid by ſubſcription, receive about four hundred dollars *per annum*. Being without political importance, and confined to their eccleſiaſtical functions, they are religious, humane, and tolerant. If their conduct were otherwiſe, their pariſhioners would change them juſt as readily as withdraw their employment from a ſhoe-maker, who ſhould make bad ſhoes. They live in perfect harmony with one another. The ſermons delivered in the different churches are chiefly of a moral caſt. Lutherans, Roman Catholics, and Quakers intermarry with each other. Mr. READ, the gentleman to whom we had a letter

letter of introduction, has ten children, two of whom only have been baptized; the reſt are left to chooſe their religion for themſelves, if they think proper, when they arrive at years of diſcretion.

The fortunes of thoſe, who are accounted people of property in Reading, are in general moderate. An income of eighteen hundred or two thouſand dollars a year is deemed large; and at leaſt a part of ſuch incomes is always earned by ſome uſeful employment. Here are indeed ſome gentlemen poſſeſſed of large property, but then this has been generally obtained by commerce, or elſe accumulated in the town itſelf by diſhonourable means, namely, by buying up, at a low price, demands againſt poor ſmall proprietors, and driving them from their poſſeſſions by judicial proceedings. The number of people, who have made fortunes in this manner, is not great; yet there certainly are about three of them in the town, who poſſeſs capitals amounting to two hundred and fifty or three hundred thouſand dollars.

The ſentiments of the inhabitants of this town and the neighbouring country are very good, and breathe a warm attachment to the federal

government. There is no democratic ſociety. Reading ſent about eighty volunteers on the expedition againſt Pittſburg, forty of whom were equipped to ſerve as cavalry. They all belonged to rich families, and were engaged in buſineſs; but either their own zeal, or the influence of their relations, impelled them to devote themſelves to the public good. In conſequence of this public ſpirit, a ſociety has been formed at Reading, called the FIRE SOCIETY,* the members of which enter into an obligation to keep at their common expence two fire engines, and each at his own expence two buckets, a baſket, and a ſack, and to attend at the firſt alarm of fire. This ſociety, which reſembles that of Philadelphia, and many others of the ſame deſcription, which are very common all over America, ſpares government an expence, which otherwiſe it would be obliged to incur, and enſures a more ſpeedy aſſiſtance to ſufferers, than any public inſtitution could poſſibly afford. It will perhaps be ſaid, that this ſociety originated from the perſonal intereſt of

* The eſtabliſhment of a company for inſurance from loſs by fire, may be expected to follow next, in the progreſs of improvements at Reading.—*Tranſlator.*

every

every individual member or ſubſcriber: be it ſo; for what elſe is public ſpirit, but private intereſt properly underſtood?

Some public buildings, ſuch as a large houſe for the different officers of the county, and the archives, a priſon, and a ſeſſions houſe, have been very lately built at the expence of the county. The taxes are very ſmall. Of three lawyers, with whom we paſſed the greateſt part of our time at Reading, not one could inform me of the exact total amount of the taxes, but they all agreed, that they are very inconſiderable, or next to nothing. The county-taxes and poor-rates, taken all together, may perhaps amount to about ſixpence in the pound, or a fortieth part of the yearly income. On particular occaſions, or when public buildings are to be erected, they are doubtleſs higher, but never ſo high as to take from a rich man more than twelve dollars a year.

There are weekly two market days in Reading, and the market is well ſupplied with proviſion. In ſuch diſtricts as lie near the market, the price of building-ground, two hundred feet in depth, is twenty-five dollars per foot; in leſs populous parts of the town only ten dol-

lars. The rent for large convenient houſes, at ſome diſtance from the town, amounts to one hundred and fifty dollars. The price of land is about twenty-two dollars an acre, and near the town from thirty-two to thirty-ſix dollars. Meadows near the town coſt one hundred and fifty dollars. A great number of them belong to the family of Penn in right of purchaſe; for it is well known, that all lands and tenements, which this family held in fee, were redeemed by the ſtate, on granting indemnification more or leſs adequate to their value.

The Schuylkill does not flow through the town, but at a diſtance of about five thouſand paces. A project is formed for extending the town to the bank of the river, and it will certainly be carried into effect, as ſoon as the canal, which is to join the Schuylkill with the Suſquehannah, ſhall be finiſhed, a part of which is already completed. Reading will then become a conſiderable ſtaple for inland traffic. A tolerably extenſive corn-trade is already carried on here. In winter, when the navigation is obſtructed by ice, the neighbouring farmers, who happen to be in want of money, bring their corn to town. The wealthy inhabitants buy it at a low

low price, lay it up in granaries, and ſend it to Philadelphia as ſoon as the river is navigable, as it is, in general, for veſſels of one hundred or two hundred tons burthen, except when it is frozen.

The banks of the Schuylkill are exquiſitely beautiful near Reading, indeed more ſo than in any other part of its courſe. On the ſide oppoſite to the town ariſes a range of richly cultivated hills, covered with as many houſes as can be expected in this country. Beyond theſe heights are mountains of more conſiderable elevation: and beyond theſe are ſeen the lofty ſummits of the Blue Mountains. The whole form a proſpect at once pleaſing and ſublime. A great number of brooks run into the Schuylkill, and turn many paper, ſaw, plaſter, and oil-mills in the vicinity of Reading. The inhabitants of the town are temperate, induſtrious and prudent people. A tradeſman clears as much money in a few years, as enables him to buy a plantation in the back country, where he either ſettles himſelf, or ſends one of his children. Perſons who quit Reading and its vicinity generally retire to the country around Sunbury and Northumberland. Some poor Germans from

time to time arrive here from Europe, get rich, purchaſe a plantation, and retire.

They marry here very young. Few women remain unmarried beyond the age of twenty years: and marriages are very fruitful. The mortality among children is, upon an average, much leſs here than in Philadelphia. The country is healthful. Perſons grey with age are numerous, and epidemical diſeaſes rarely break out. Living is cheaper here, by one half, than in Philadelphia.

We had letters to Meſſrs. Read and BRIDLE, and cannot ſpeak with ſufficient praiſe of the handſome reception we experienced from theſe gentlemen. They anſwered all our queſtions with a degree of patience as obliging on their part, as it was advantageous to us. The day we ſtopped at Reading was ſpent at Mr. Bridle's, where we found Mr. Read, Judge RUSH, brother to Doctor RUSH of Philadelphia, and Preſident of the diſtrict, General ROVER, who, during the laſt war, ſerved conſtantly under LA FAYETTE, and holds now the place of Regiſtrar, Mr. ECKARD, an actuary, and Mr. EVANS, who is a lawyer as well as Meſſrs. Read and Bridle. The converſation was pleaſant enough.

It

It conſtantly turned upon the political ſituation of Europe, of which every one will talk, and which is rightly underſtood by none. But it is the topic of the day, to the diſcuſſion of which we muſt ſubmit. Excellent principles of government, a warm attachment to France, abhorrence of the crimes which have been committed, and fervent wiſhes for her welfare, formed the prominent features of the converſation. Several very acute and judicious obſervations on the ſubject of England were made, which did not beſpeak great partiality for that country. The gentlemen ſpoke with enthuſiaſm of WASHINGTON, with gratitude and eſteem of La Fayette, and, in ſhort, diſplayed the moſt laudable feelings. During a walk we met ſome ladies, who, to judge from the manner in which their attendants conducted themſelves, muſt be of very little importance in ſociety. Mr. Bridle, who, without ſaying a word, gave us tea in the evening, ſeemed ſcarcely to have eaten his dinner.

The civility of our friends in Reading was not confined to a kind reception; they alſo offered us letters to gentlemen at Lancaſter, and in other places on our road, which, though we

were already provided with a tolerable number, we accepted with the ſame ſatisfaction as they were offered.

One of theſe letters procured me an introduction into the farm of Angelico. I was deſirous of being more accurately acquainted with the ſtate of agriculture and huſbandry about Reading, which, in Philadelphia, had been pointed out to me as the moſt perfect in all Pennſylvania, and I therefore wiſhed to converſe with one of the beſt informed farmers; Mr. EVANS had been named to me as ſuch. He ſuperintends and manages the farm of Angelico for Mr. NICHOLSON in Philadelphia, who bought it three years ago of Governor MIFFLIN. This farm, which lies three miles from Reading on the way to Lancaſter, conſiſts of nine hundred acres, four hundred only of which have hitherto been cultivated, and fifty of theſe lie in paſture. From ſixty to ſeventy acres conſiſt of the fineſt meadows, ſome of which are ſown with clover. They are watered at pleaſure, partly by the Angelico, a ſmall brook from which the place takes its name, and partly by a very copious ſpring, which waters ſuch parts as are not within reach of the Angelico. The graſs is fine, ſtrong, and

buſhy,

bushy, and the only care taken of it consists in a slight irrigation. The rest of the land is under the plough, and produces wheat, rye, buck-wheat, oats, and Indian corn, but without any fixed rotation of crops. The land is of the best quality, being a rich clay, from twenty-four to twenty-eight inches deep. Some places are stony. More or less manure is laid upon the soil every three years. From four to five cart-loads of dung, about fifteen hundred weight each, are generally allotted to an acre; but the dung is far from being in a state to answer the intended purpose. The produce of the first year, after the ground has been cleared, is twenty-five bushels of wheat, forty bushels of rye, forty bushels of barley, eighty bushels of oats, twenty-five bushels of Indian corn, per acre. It would produce considerably more, if the wood were felled in a more careful manner, and the ground somewhat deeper tilled. It is the custom, and consequently the general opinion, that the ground must not be ploughed deeper than four or five inches. I have conversed with Mr. Evans on this subject, who could not help allowing, that the above opinion is erroneous. He was entirely of my way of thinking; but it is the custom,

cuſtom, and that has more weight than the cleareſt reaſoning. Newly cleared land ſometimes produces better crops after the ſecond and the third year's tillage, than at the firſt; and this generally happens when the ground has not been cleared with ſufficient care. The uſual produce of this land is ten buſhels of wheat, twenty of rye, twenty of barley, forty of oats, and eighty of Indian corn. This diſtrict has not ſuffered from certain inſects, called *lice*, which occaſion ſometimes conſiderable miſchief to the crops; nor had the Heſſian fly much damaged the corn here. The plough-ſhare is of iron; it has but one broad ſide bent towards the right. It is ill contrived, and turns up the ground very imperfectly. Two horſes are able to draw the plough in a pretty ſtrong ſoil. The work of the farm is performed by five men, ſix horſes, and twelve oxen. Mr. Evans's wife and children manage the buſineſs of the houſe, of a pretty conſiderable dairy, and of the poultry-yard, which is much better ſtocked with fowls than American farms uſually are. The butter which is not conſumed in the houſe, is ſent in winter to Philadelphia; but in ſummer they make good cheeſe, which is ſold for ten pence a pound.

The

The corn is either ſold in Philadelphia or Reading. Mr. Evans fattens ſome oxen, but their number does not exceed eighteen, though he poſſeſſes ſeventy acres of meadow land; theſe oxen, together with his twelve cows and ſix horſes, conſume almoſt all his hay, for he ſells very little. He keeps it in barns, and ſometimes in ſtacks made after the Engliſh manner, but ſo very badly, that they generally tumble down. Every acre of meadow, if mowed twice a year, yields from three to four tuns of hay, and the price of this article was laſt year fourteen dollars a tun.

Mr. Evans keeps no more than forty or fifty ſheep. This ſmall number affords an additional proof of the prejudices, which prevail in this country; "to keep many of them," Mr. Evans obſerved, "would be the certain means of loſing them all." On my mentioning to him the example of England, he ſaid, "I know all this, but it is the cuſtom here, and a wiſe cuſtom it is; for our neighbour, Mr. MORGAN, who would keep more, and had a good ſhepherd from Europe, loſt them all. We do not wiſh for more than are neceſſary to ſupply us with

wool

wool for our own cloathing, and that of our people, and on that account keep no more."

The ſtate of agriculture is here exactly the ſame as in the remoteſt provinces of France. Prejudices, maxims handed down from father to ſon, uſages, ignorance, and conſequently obſtinacy, govern every thing. The ſheep are tolerably good, and yield excellent wool. Before I ſaw them, I aſked the ſhepherd, whether the wool was ſhort or long? he anſwered, "that it grew longer towards the time of ſhearing it." I explained to him the meaning of the terms, long and ſhort wool, the difference between the ſheep which produce it, the different purpoſes they are fit for in the manufactories, and, conſequently, the reaſons why, in different parts of England, one ſort of ſheep is kept in preference to another. He liſtened to me, and replied, "of all this we know nothing here." It is the cuſtom not to keep a ram upon the farm; they enquire where a good one may be found, and either hire him or ſend the ewes to him. Mr. Evans fattens his oxen with hay, and flour of Indian corn, of which he allots to each, twice a day, ſix quarts, or ſix-ſixteenths of a buſhel:

buſhel: his oxen are tolerably good, but not remarkably ſo. In my preſence he ſold ſeventeen, which were all he had at that time, and among which was an old bull and a fine cow. For theſe he received nine hundred and ſix dollars; the cow alone coſt forty-two; ſhe was three years old, large ſized, of a good ſort, and was bought for breeding in another part of the country.

Turnips for feeding cattle are cultivated only in gardens like pot-herbs, to the extent of a quarter or half an acre. The cultivation of cabbages and turnips in the fields is unknown. Potatoes are planted in great abundance. The art of getting good dung is as little known here as all other branches of agriculture, which require the leaſt judgment. There is no hole in the farm-yard to collect the dung; nothing is done to improve it by the urine from the different ſtables, or to prevent the rain from waſhing away its ſtrength; it lies in the farm-yard in large heaps, does not rot, but is entirely dried up.

In other reſpects this is one of the fineſt eſtates that can be deſired. The ſoil, the ſituation, and every thing conſidered, leave nothing to wiſh for but a more ſkilful cultivation, of which

which it is as capable as any other ſpot in the world. In point of proſpect and pictureſque effect, its ſituation is charming, being in a large, delightful valley, which is well watered, and ſurrounded by a multitude of the moſt pleaſant hills, partly cultivated, and partly covered with wood.

A ſaw-mill forms a part of this eſtate; it is conſtantly employed either for the uſe of the eſtate, for the poſſeſſor, or the public. The price of labour is three ſhillings for one hundred feet of plank. The mill has but one ſaw, though there is a ſufficient quantity of water for at leaſt three. This water, which can be diſpoſed of at pleaſure, might very conveniently turn ſeveral other mills, and thus encreaſe both the value of the eſtate, and the induſtry of the country; as the produce is ſure to meet with a ready ſale either in Philadelphia or Reading. The fences and farm-buildings, which Governor Mifflin left in very bad condition, are now repairing, and will ſoon be in very good order.

Mr. Nicholſon pays Mr. Evans, who accounts to him for the outgoings and expenditure, but who has not yet remitted him any money. He intends, undoubtedly, by this management,

nagement, to put the eſtate into a good condition, and to raiſe its value beyond that which landed property has hitherto acquired in America. At this time a buſhel of wheat ſells for fifteen ſhillings, Indian corn for three ſhillings, and oats for five ſhillings. Labourers are eaſily procured here in ſufficient number for all the purpoſes of agriculture. From the account I have given of this eſtate, it is evident, that its value would be very conſiderable, if it were better managed.

The five hundred acres, which lie uncultivated, ſupply the neceſſary timber for repairing the houſe and out-buildings, and alſo wood for fuel; which, as I have already mentioned, is ſold at Reading from three and a half, to four and a half dollars per cord, according to the quality of the wood. The expence for felling, cutting it, and carrying it to Reading, amounts to one dollar two-thirds. Mr. Evans is of opinion, that this tract of land ſhould neither be cultivated, nor the wood ſold for fuel, becauſe the trees, if ſuffered to grow, encreaſe the value of the land far beyond what it can be worth, if applied to any other uſe. I know not how far he may be right. To form a correct opinion

on

on this ſubject, it would be neceſſary to traverſe the wood, to be acquainted with the wants and cuſtoms of the country; and beſides, it is well known, that in France, where the management of woods is ſingularly well underſtood, the rearing of trees is deemed one of the moſt difficult arts.

My friend, Mr. Guillemard, who is more fond of his bed, and leſs partial to farms, than I am, ſuffered me to leave Reading ſome hours before him; he overtook me at Angelico, and thence we entered upon our journey to Lancaſter. There is no public conveyance yet eſtabliſhed by the ſtate between Lancaſter and Reading, though theſe are both conſiderable towns. The ſtage-coach goes from Reading to Harriſburg, ſituate on the Suſquehannah, and on the road to Pittſburg. Another ſtage-coach goes from Harriſburg to Lancaſter, which forms a circuit of eighty miles; though, by the direct road, the diſtance is only thirty-one miles. There is, indeed, a poſt, which goes twice a week from Bethlem to Lancaſter, and paſſes through Reading, but is of no uſe to travellers. This poſt, which makes a journey of eighty miles, frequently arrives without bringing one ſingle letter;

ter; every thing evinces, that the country is yet in an infant ſtate, but ſhews, at the ſame time, that it is proceeding, by large and rapid ſtrides, to a ſtate of conſiderable ſtrength.

The country between Reading and Lancaſter abounds with mountains and vallies. The former are not high, but run in ranges. The vallies are chearful, well watered, abound with fine meadows, and are tolerably well inhabited. Almoſt all the inhabitants are Germans, or, at leaſt, of German deſcent. The greateſt part ſpeak no other language than German. The houſes are ſmall, and kept in very bad order; the barns are large, and in very good repair. The general appearance of the country, which is very rich and pleaſant, reſembles that near the Voghefian Mountains, except that here the mountains are not ſo high. We continually meet with brooks or creeks, with numerous mills and a luxuriant verdure. The road is tolerable, except in ſome places, where it is miry, or rough with ſtones. Four miles from Lancaſter the hills decreaſe in height, and two miles from the town they terminate in a plain.

On our way we ſtopped at Ephrata, where we viſited the DUNKERS, a ſort of monks well

known in America by the ſolitary life they lead, though their number is but ſmall. We had a letter to Father MILLER, the Dean of the ſociety. The houſe, which is built of a very indifferent ſort of ſtone, and badly roofed with laths, is the reſidence of ſeveral hermits, the remains of ſixty, who formed the ſociety about forty years ago. A few yards from this houſe ſtands the nunnery of the order, which contains ten or twelve nuns, ſubject to the ſame rules.

The venerable Father Miller is an old man, not far from eighty years of age. His eyes ſtill ſparkle with a degree of fire, and his imagination is ſtill lively. Our curioſity led us to enquire after the inſtitution of the houſe, and the doctrines of the order. Father Miller ſatisfied this curioſity in a manner the moſt tediouſly diffuſe, by giving us a minute account of every point, however trifling, of the doctrine and hiſtory of the *Dunkers*. This hiſtory is a tiſſue of abſurdities, like that of all monks. A ridiculous compound of ambition, and of the deſire of inſulating themſelves apart from the ſtate, is common to them all. The Dunkers were inſtituted in the ſame place where they at preſent reſide,

reſide, by one CONRAD PEYSEL, a German, who, however, ſoon perceived, as well as themſelves, that the life of an anchorite is neither the moſt pleaſant, nor the moſt uſeful in the world. He collected them into a ſociety, and conducted them to Pittſburg, which, at that time, was a wild, uninhabited place. The prior, who ſucceeded Peyſel, intended, according to ſome, to ſubject his monks to a ſtricter diſcipline; but, by the account of others, he propoſed to accuſtom them to a wandering life; diſſenſions aroſe among them, and they paſſed ſome years in a ſtate of continual diſagreement; they then diſperſed, and afterwards united again in the ſame place where they were firſt eſtabliſhed. The old monk told us, that they obſerve a ſtrict rule, and live with the utmoſt frugality; and that a communion of property is obſerved among them without the leaſt ſupremacy, or any other diſtinction whatever; he told us, that he goes himſelf to church regularly at midnight. They have made the vow of poverty and chaſtity; there are, however, ſome, who marry, in which caſe they quit the houſe, and live with their wives elſewhere in the country. Others leave the houſe without marrying; but theſe, Father

Miller obſerved, violate, by ſo doing, the oath they have taken; yet they cannot be proſecuted for want of a law to that effect. They wear a long gown made of grey cloth for the winter, and of white linen for the ſummer, tied round the waiſt with a ſtrap of leather. They let the beard grow, and ſleep on a bench, "until," ſaid Father Miller, "they ſleep in the grave." This was his expreſſion. The ſpirit of the preſent age, and the country they inhabit, being equally averſe to a monaſtic life, Father Miller perceives, with as much certainty as concern, the impending diſſolution of his order, which has ſome other eſtabliſhments in one or two counties of Pennſylvania. As to the doctrines of the order, they are a medley of the moſt abſurd tenets of the Anabaptiſts, Univerſaliſts, Calviniſts, Lutherans, Jews, Methodiſts, and Roman Catholics. They lament the fall of our firſt parent, who would rather have for his wife a carnal being, Eve, than let the celeſtial Sophia, a being thoroughly divine, bear a child. She would have communicated only with the ſpiritual nature of Adam; and thus a race would have been engendered all pure, and without the leaſt corporeal ingredient. They lament the indulgence,

gence, which God ſhewed in regard to this deſire of Adam, who acted on this occaſion as brutes might do. However, God, according to their doctrine, has merely deferred the period of this ſtate of perfection; it is certainly to arrive, and the Dunkers foreſee the time, when, after the general reſurrection, the divine Sophia will deſcend into every one of us. All this is to their fancy as evident and clear as the Song of Solomon. We waſted nearly two hours in liſtening to the idle prate of the old monk, who was happy to entertain us on this ſubject, and particularly enraptured at the idea, that the Sophia would deſcend into him.

Another monk of the ſame order, whom we met with, ſeemed to be leſs impreſſed with this hope. He was a printer, a man of thirty years of age, who had lived thirteen years in this houſe. He told us, that the diſcipline of the order is by no means ſo ſtrict, as the old monk pretended; that they divide their earnings only if they chooſe; that they live juſt as they pleaſe, and drink coffee and tea. He did not appear ſo enthuſiaſtic a friend to the vow of chaſtity as Father Miller; and to our queſtions, whether many brothers married, and whether

they were ſuppoſed to offend by ſo doing, anſwered, "that many did, and that, in his opinion, they acted rightly; "for," ſaid he, "are not women truly charming?" Before we left Father Miller, whoſe accounts the information of the young monk already ſhewed to have greatly exaggerated every thing, we had an opportunity of convincing ourſelves, that he had misſtated even the particulars of their way of living; for we found in a room, contiguous to his, a nice feather-bed, in which, he could not help confeſſing, he ſlept ſometimes, and in which, by the aſſertion of the young Dunker, he ſleeps every night. In the church we found a place as much diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, as that of any prior of a convent of benedictine monks can be. Monks are every where the ſame men, and live by deceiving others; they are every where impoſtors: in Europe, and in America, men are the ſame, when placed in the ſame ſituation. In point of furniture and outward appearance the houſe bears a near reſemblance to a capuchin convent, diſplaying every where an oſtentatious poverty by half-hidden beds of down. We did not viſit the nunnery, as we ſhould have met there only the ſame follies

follies, and the ſame nauſeous filth; beſides, the nuns, being old, could not in the leaſt intereſt our curioſity, and we knew already enough of theſe Dunkers. They are a good-natured ſort of people, they live upon the produce of an eſtate of three hundred acres, injure nobody, are laughed at in the country, and yet tolerably well beloved.

The ſoil between Reading and Lancaſter is full of ſmall lime-ſtones, and ſlates, which are frequently found of a very large ſize. Near Lancaſter the quantity of lime-ſtone encreaſes: the whole country abounds with iron-mines; and the iron-works, which are very numerous between Bethlem and Reading, become more ſtrikingly ſo between Reading and Lancaſter, though many of them do not ſtand near the road. We intended to viſit the iron-work of Mr. COLMAN, one of the moſt conſiderable in the whole diſtrict; but finding that it was too much out of our road, we relinquiſhed the deſign. All we could learn was, that the workmen receive from eight to ten dollars a month, beſides board and lodging. The founder has five ſhillings per tun. The price of caſt-iron is thirty ſhillings, and of iron in bars forty ſhillings a tun.

The high price of grain in this place is ſaid to have much leſſened the profits ariſing from founderies.

We had left the ſervant, with the baggage horſe, at Reading, on account of his back being ſore. My friend Guillemard intended at firſt to make the tour from Lancaſter to Harriſburg without the ſervant, and to ſend him by the ſtraight road to Northumberland, but Joſeph wiſhed to ſee Lancaſter. Mr. Guillemard's kindneſs could not refuſe him this ſmall favour; he accordingly ſet out for Lancaſter ſome hours after us, and brought the horſe thither; we had leſſened his burthen, at leaſt by eighty pounds, and had ſent ſeveral of Mr. Guillemard's effects to Philadelphia. The pack-ſaddle had been mended, and yet the poor horſe's back was worſe than before. This is an accident truly diſagreeable, and by no means unimportant; for the diſpoſition of my fellow traveller does not allow us to hope a ſpeedy end to our ſufferings. We muſt have patience, a virtue of material uſe in all ſituations, while on the contrary impatience never ſerves any good purpoſe.

Lancaſter,

Lancaſter, the 11th of May.

We reached Lancaſter at nine o'clock at night, the uſual ſupper-time. The groom arrived the next morning with the diſabled horſe. A delay in Lancaſter, while the cure of the horſe was effected, proved the more unpleaſant, as out of the twelve gentlemen, to whom we had letters of introduction, three only were in town. General HAND, who lives a mile from Lancaſter, happened to be there. We accordingly paid him a viſit, and ſaw him, as well as his lady and children. But, by not returning our viſit, he gave us a pretty clear proof, that he was not very deſirous of our repeating it. Mr. Bridle, though in town, was indiſpoſed; and Mr. MONTGOMERY, to whom we had a letter from Mr. Bridle, of Reading, was not at home, when we called at his houſe. This concurrence of unpleaſant circumſtances led us to the firm determination of removing at once the obſtacles, which, ſince our departure from Philadelphia, had obſtructed the execution of our plan. In occurrences of a more ſerious complexion than this incident, experience has convinced me, that the ſuccours of the moment, with which irreſolute

irreſolute and indolent people are ſo well pleaſed, far from actually clearing the way of difficulties, merely places them at a greater diſtance, but, in fact, encreaſes them. I was alſo ſenſible, that it is by far the beſt and eaſieſt way, in all ſimilar ſituations, to do without every thing, which may prove troubleſome. My friend Guillemard is determined, to act upon the ſame principle; and we have reſolved to reduce our baggage to what our three horſes can conveniently carry, and to ſend the reſt back to Philadelphia. Thus relieved from all uneaſineſs, our minds will be more capable of receiving the new knowledge, which we ſhall uſe every opportunity to collect. Here we gathered our information from the landlord's family at the inn, where we had put up.

This inn, the Swan, has been kept by Mr. SLOW theſe thirty years. He was a man of very conſiderable property, but, ſome time back, was much reduced by misfortunes; having engaged in iron-works, and other buſineſs, he was defrauded, and nearly ruined, and found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſelling all the property he had acquired. Grief undermined his conſtitution; but his wife, poſſeſſed of more fortitude,

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(as women generally are) roused his dejected spirits. His honesty had never been impeached, and his situation in life, as innkeeper and member of the assembly of Pennsylvania, had made him known, and had obtained him friends, who assisted him with money, and procured him credit. One of them purchased fifteen hundred acres of land, which he possessed near Wilksbarre, on the Susquehannah, and, when the bargain was struck, told him, that he should only consider himself as his trustee, and return the land for the same money. His circumstances improved; he has not only repaid the money for the lands near Wilksbarre, which are again in his possession, but has also purchased others near Northumberland, married one of his daughters, obtained commissions in the army for two of his sons, and thus recovered his former prosperity. We had letters to him: he happened to be in Philadelphia; but his wife and two of his sons were at home, who furnished us with, perhaps, as much information, as we might have been able to procure, had we met with all the other persons to whom we had letters of recommendation.

Lancaster is the largest inland town on the continent

continent of America. It ſtands twenty miles from the Suſquehannah, and half a mile from the Conawango, a large ſtream, ſtocked with fiſh, but not navigable. This diſtrict was preſented to the family of Mr. WILLIAM HAMILTON, by the Penns, their relations. The town began to be built in 1731, with a view of its being the chief of the county. The land is not ſold by the Hamiltons, but leaſed out for a ground-rent, which they have raiſed in proportion to the encreaſed demands, and the riſing price of land in every place. As W. Hamilton has ſtill a great quantity of land left about the town, he diſpoſes of it in the ſame manner; and his yearly income, compoſed of unredeemable rents, amounts at preſent to four thouſand dollars. During the war the payment of theſe rents was collected with difficulty; Mr. Hamilton, as well as the family of Penn, belonging to the Tory party.

The population of Lancaſter conſiſts of about ſix or ſeven thouſand ſouls. Inſtead of increaſing, it rather decreaſes at preſent, in conſequence of the continual emigration of ſuch inhabitants, as by their induſtry have acquired a ſufficient fortune, to purchaſe lands in the leſs inhabited

inhabited diſtricts of Pennſylvania, or in the moſt diſtant part of Maryland, and whom the high price of land, in the county of Lancaſter, prevents from ſettling here.

Near the town, and even at ſome diſtance from it, the price of land is at preſent from fifty to eighty dollars per acre. Within theſe laſt three years, it has been more than doubled. General Hand bought, five years ago, the eſtate on which he reſides, two miles from the town, for twenty-five dollars per acre, and has lately refuſed one hundred, which were offered him. Mr. Scott, ſon-in-law of Mr. Slow, bought lately an eſtate, for which he paid one hundred dollars per acre. The price of land has riſen nearly in the ſame proportion throughout America, at leaſt in all its cultivated parts. Mr. Slow, about five years ago, purchaſed an eſtate near Northumberland for forty ſhillings per acre, and laſt year ſold it again for fifty-four ſhillings. With the profits he purchaſed a pretty little eſtate, ſituate half a mile from Lancaſter, between the road and the creek.

This eſtate, which contains one hundred and ten acres, is now in a fine ſtate of cultivation. About eighteen or twenty acres lie in graſs, and form

form the moſt beautiful meadows; twenty-five are covered with wood, and the reſt are under the plough. He lays from twelve to fourteen tuns of dung on each acre: no land lies fallow; but he entertains the ſame prejudices as the reſt of the farmers in favour of flat ridges, and againſt ſheep. His ſon, in whoſe company I ſurveyed the eſtate, confeſſed, that the theory and practice which prevail in Europe do not agree with the huſbandry of the Americans, but he is nevertheleſs zealouſly wedded to their prejudices, and cauſes them to be cloſely followed, not only on his father's eſtate, of which he has the management, but alſo on his own near Northumberland.

The land, in the environs of Lancaſter, exceeds in fertility that in the neighbourhood of Reading. An acre yields, upon an average, fifteen buſhels of wheat, and other grain in proportion.

Every thing is much dearer in Lancaſter than in Reading. Day labourers are paid four ſhillings per day, and are eaſily procured. The inhabitants are the ſame good natured kind of people as at Reading, and equally laborious. In the town, as well as the neighbouring country, are a great number

number of tan-yards, and many mills, from which the flour is ſent to Philadelphia in waggons. Returning, theſe waggons commonly bring merchandize, which is expedited from this place to every part of the back country. The road has hitherto been very bad; a turnpike-road, which is about to be made, and which will probably be completed this autumn, will doubtleſs much facilitate and promote the communication. The mealmen ſeem already to familiarize themſelves with the idea of paying an additional toll of two or three dollars, and of providing larger wheels for their waggons. If the Suſquehannah ſhall be made navigable as far as Wright, an event that cannot be far diſtant; the meal-trade will grow ſtill more conſiderable in this diſtrict, at leaſt until the projected plan of rendering the Suatara and the Delaware navigable, by means of the Schuylkill, ſhall be carried into effect.

In a recently ſettled and free country, it is ſeldom poſſible to come at any certain reſults of calculations, relative to trade and commerce. Thus the number of waggons, which are ſent from Philadelphia to Lancaſter and the neighbouring country, with flour and other proviſion,

ſion, is not exactly known; yet it is certain, that frequently from ſeventy to eighty waggons paſs through Lancaſter in a day, and it is generally believed, that Mr. WITHINS, who ſome years back, at his own expence, built a bridge on the road to Philadelphia, a mile from Lancaſter, on condition of his being entitled to take a toll or pontage, clears that way every year one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty dollars, the whole amount of the ſum he laid out in conſtructing the bridge. A perſon on horſeback pays him two pence, and a waggon eleven pence, though he has a right to take eighteen pence for the latter. The gentlemen who have contracted for the conſtruction of the turnpike-road, are authorized by government to redeem the above toll or pontage, as ſoon as the road ſhall be completed.

Though the number of houſes does not encreaſe at Lancaſter, yet the town gains much in outward appearance. The houſes in general are larger than in Reading, and conſtructed either of brick or ſtone. Rent is much the ſame as at Reading. There are numerous quarries in the vicinity of the town, which yield a *quartzoſe ſchiſt*, that is very hard, yet eaſily cut, but cannot be obtained in pieces of any large ſize. This

ſtone

ſtone is ſold by the rod, containing ſixteen feet in length, eighteen inches high, and eighteen wide; the price is one dollar, delivered in town, free from expence, and a quarter of a dollar to take it out of the quarry. The turnpike-road has conſiderably encreaſed its ſale.

The diſpoſition of the generality of the inhabitants of Lancaſter is of the ſame good caſt as that of the inhabitants of Reading. There exiſts here, however, a democratic ſociety, but it conſiſts only of twelve members, not five of whom ever attend the meetings. The enterpriſe againſt Pittſburg, which no American mentions without conſcious pride, eſpecially in theſe parts, where the militia bore a ſhare in it, has ruined the Jacobin clubs and ſocieties. The diſapprobation of the Senate, the enquiry ſet on foot by the repreſentatives of the people, (notwithſtanding the propoſal of the committee, that they be reprimanded, was not carried) and eſpecially the circumſtance, that the Preſident, who is generally eſteemed and reſpected, nay, revered to a degree of enthuſiaſm in America, perſonally reprobated them, have completed their deſtruction.

The city of Lancaſter is ſurrounded with meadows, which are well watered. It gave me

much ſatisfaction to ſee a wheel, purpoſely deſigned to raiſe the water neceſſary for that purpoſe. The town itſelf is rather dull. It has more the appearance of a city than Reading; the houſes ſtand nearer each other, and are more numerous; broad ſtone pavements, run in front of the houſes, and the ſtreets that are not paved, are at leaſt covered with gravel, and kept clean. The ſeſſions-houſe is a good building, neat and elegant. There are two or three well built churches in the town. The number of places of worſhip amounts, in the whole, to ſeven. The Swan inn is undoubtedly better than any inn in Philadelphia; leſs magnificent than the excellent Engliſh inns, yet of very ſimilar deſign; none, at leaſt, can be more cleanly. A great number of ſervants are kept, and the family of the landlord, whoſe manners beſpeak a liberal education, are generally reſpected, and enjoy that conſideration, which in all countries ſhould be beſtowed on honeſt men, whatever their occupations, if not contrary to morality. Innkeepers are here men of the firſt rank. How many Europeans would ſhake their heads, were it ſo in their own countries! It is a general cuſtom in America, to dine with the innkeeper and his family, and to conform to the dinner hour

which

which he fixes. This cuſtom, which, at times, proves extremely diſagreeable, is, on the contrary, very pleaſant in this houſe, for it is impoſſible to meet with a family in all America of ſuperior breeding, or which forms a more agreeable ſociety, than that of Mr. Slow.

One of the two ſons, who holds a commiſſion in the army, was at home. He ſerves in one of the regiments, which, under the orders of General Wayne, act againſt the Indians, and was wounded in an engagement laſt autumn, in which thoſe people were repulſed by the Americans. The particulars of this war are by no means intereſting. The Americans ſpeak of the ignorance of the Indians, in point of tactics, with the ſame contempt that the Engliſh expreſs for American tactics, and the Pruſſians, Auſtrians, and French for the tactical knowledge of the Engliſh. All that I have been able to learn of theſe Indians intereſts me in their favour. The Americans are waging war againſt them, in order to drive them out of a country, which belongs to them; and the Americans, who inhabit the frontiers, are greater robbers, and more cruel than the Indians, againſt whom it is alleged as a crime, that they exerciſe the right of retaliation. They are, more-

over, incited by the Engliſh againſt the Americans, and become thus, in their untutored ſtate, victims of the ambition and diſcord of theſe two *civilized* nations. Captain Slow aſſured me, that, among the Indians ſlain on the field of battle, many white people have been found, who were Engliſhmen; that many active officers on horſeback have been ſeen at the head of the Indians, who were alſo Engliſhmen, and that the Indian army is ſupported by the Engliſh garriſons. Theſe aſſertions, however, tend merely to prove the ſupineneſs of the Americans, both in regard to the Engliſh and Indians. Captain Slow aſſured me, that even in Kentucky, he never met with any land, which, in point of richneſs, can be compared with the ſoil of thoſe parts, eſpecially in the country, on the river Miami; that the ſtratum of vegetative earth is from twenty to twenty-five feet thick; and that the fields, in which the Indians have ſown maize and beans, beſpeak a very careful cultivation, and promiſe the richeſt crops, that ever came within his obſervation.

Before I conclude the article of Lancaſter, I muſt not omit to mention two Frenchmen, who have ſettled here from the French colonies in the Weſt Indies. The one is a miniature painter, who

who ſells his coarſe pictures for three guineas each, and contrives to vend many; the other is a very indifferent muſician, who charges three guineas a month for his leſſons, and has ſeveral pupils. At every ſtep we take in America, either in towns or in the country, it becomes more and more evident, that any one may make his fortune, who will take the pains; and nothing can afford a ſtronger proof of the truth of this remark, than a perſonal acquaintance with the crowd of foreigners, who enjoy the reputation of being exceedingly *clever*, and who are amaſſing fortunes under the auſpices of this frequently uſurped title.

In the inn, at Lancaſter, I met with Mr. Brown, member of the congreſs for Kentucky; he was on his way to Philadelphia, where the congreſs meets next month. I ſifted him a little reſpecting the preſent ſtate of Kentucky. The reſult of the information I obtained is, that the ſoil is every where excellent, and frequently yields, for the firſt harveſt, from one hundred to one hundred and ten buſhels of Indian corn, and from fifty to fifty-five buſhels of wheat an acre; that the price of land is ſix dollars per acre, of flour eleven dollars per barrel, and of Indian corn, one-ſixth of a dollar per buſhel;

that the population, which, in 1790, conſiſted of ninety thouſand ſouls, amounts at preſent to one hundred and fifty thouſand; that, in the courſe of laſt year, twenty-five thouſand perſons ſettled there; that the Indians attempt no longer any inroads in that part of the United States, which, though occupied the laſt of all, advances more rapidly towards a ſtate of proſperity than any other diſtrict in America.

From Lancaſter we proceeded to May Town. The road from Lancaſter to this place lies chiefly through a woody tract of country, which aſſumes a wilder appearance than we have hitherto ſeen. Cultivated land appears more rarely as we proceed, except a few vallies, which ſtill lie in graſs, or are ſown with Indian corn. In proportion as the diſtance from Lancaſter encreaſes, houſes of brick or ſtone are leſs frequently ſeen. We met with ſcarcely any but log-houſes; every where we obſerve German farms, ſmall houſes, and large barns. Cows and oxen, which ſeemed tolerably good, we found grazing in the woods and near the road; and alſo ſaw, at times, ſheep, but never more than eight or ten of them together. From their thickneſs, you would ſuppoſe the woods to be no more than thirty years old: and yet it is highly improbable, that new

plantations

plantations ſhould have been made at a time when wood-lands were every where converted into tillage-ground. Theſe woods, as well as thoſe which ſeem older, conſiſt of oak, hickory, black aſh, acacia, cheſnut, cherry and apple-trees, a few ſpindle-trees, ſome cedars, and Weymouth-pines. Were it not for the known partiality of man for whatever it is difficult to procure, it would be impoſſible to account for the introduction of the Italian poplar into America, which abounds in ſo great a variety of beautiful trees, as may well excite the envy of Europe. Great numbers of theſe poplars, which ſerve for not one uſeful purpoſe, have been planted in America. They border all the ſtreets in Philadelphia, and all the roads about the town.

All the cultivated land between Lancaſter and May Town is incloſed with fences of dry wood, which ſpoil the landſcape, and conſume vaſt quantities of timber, though it already begins to grow dear. Sooner or later this uſeleſs waſte will certainly be regretted.

May Town is a ſmall village, ſixteen miles from Lancaſter, built on a ſpot entirely without water, where either chance, or the intereſt of a few individuals, threw together a dozen

houſes, the number of which has not been encreaſed ſince the origin of the eſtabliſhment, and, to all appearance, never will be. This little village is inhabited entirely by Germans, who have ſtill remained ſuch. Land in this neighbourhood coſts twelve or thirteen dollars an acre, and is in a tolerable ſtate of cultivation.

The road from May Town to Middle Town becomes more dreary and unpleaſant as we proceed; ſix miles from the former place we fell in with the ſuperb river Suſquehannah, on a ſpot where the rapids proceeding from the Conawango render it unnavigable, or, at leaſt, the navigation ſo extremely dangerous, that it is attempted but by very few veſſels. In order to free this navigation from all danger, which is of the utmoſt importance both to the preſent and the future wealth and proſperity of the country, a canal has been begun, which will run half a mile above and below theſe rapids, and thus keeps the navigation open at all times for veſſels to work up or drop down the river. This canal, the undertaking of a private gentleman, to whom the ſtate of Pennſylvania has advanced thirteen thouſand three hundred and thirty-three dollars, and alſo granted leave to eſtabliſh a toll, is nearly completed. Nothing remains

remains to be conſtructed but the locks, yet a difference of opinion exiſts as to the time of its completion. We intended to view the canal; but my fellow-traveller being a little indiſpoſed, we were the more ready to give up this project, as from a view of the canal we could not have derived any additional, or more exact information, than we had already obtained.

The road from this place to Middle Town aſſumes a wilder and more romantic appearance at every ſtep we advance. The foreſts and rocks reach down to the Suſquehannah. A great number of trees, waſhed looſe by the water a long time ago, lie, half rotten, along the banks of the river; others lie rooted up, broken, or felled in the midſt of the wood, without its having occurred to any one, to uſe them for any beneficial purpoſe; and they have been ſuffered to lie here, to be taken poſſeſſion of by the firſt comer. The oppoſite bank is likewiſe covered with wood, and bounded by mountains of no conſiderable height. From time to time we ſaw, through viſtas naturally opening among them, the Blue Mountains. The river is, in general, from two to three thouſand fathoms broad, full of conſiderable iſlets, which are of an irregular level at the ſurface, and encreaſe the width of its

its bed. It is full three miles broad, excluſive of an iſlet in it, at the ſpot where the Suatara falls into it.

Middle Town is ſeated on the latter, about half a mile diſtant from its confluence with the Suſquehannah. From the above-mentioned rapids of the Conawango uſually interrupting the navigation on this large river, Middle Town becomes the ſtorehouſe of all the grain, which is produced in the country ſituate along its upper courſe, and not conſumed there. From one hundred and ſixty to one hundred and eighty thouſand buſhels of wheat are yearly bought up by the corn-dealers, on the ſpot where it grows, conveyed to Middle Town, and depoſited in granaries there. The millers of the ſurrounding country uſually buy it here, grind it into flour, and ſend it to Philadelphia. The grand project of inland navigation, for the execution of which the government of Pennſylvania has granted a lottery, is deſigned to join the Suatara with the Schuylkill, by means of a canal of about ſixty miles in length, a third of which is already completed. In regard to that part, indeed, it does not appear that the common welfare has been chiefly attended to by thoſe, who were entruſted with the management of this important

important concern. When this canal ſhall be finiſhed, the flour, which is now carried to Philadelphia by land-conveyance, will be tranſported thither by water, with much leſs trouble and expence. The carriage amounts, at preſent, from fourteen and a half to fifteen ſhillings per barrel.

The completion of the canal is much wiſhed for at Middle Town, as the inhabitants hope to derive from it advantages, which muſt encreaſe in proportion as the diſtricts, that ſend their grain thither, ſhall become more populous, and conſequently attain a higher ſtate of cultivation. The banks of the Suatara, as far as we have ſeen them, are truly delightful. This river, though called here but a creek, is as broad as the Seine near Rouen. On the northern bank, from its mouth up to Middle Town, ſtand ſome alehouſes and warehouſes to receive the grain, as it arrives. A little farther up ſtands the mill of Mr. FREY, a German, advanced in years, who ſettled here as a miller, about ten years ago. This mill, which has four courſes, is of a happy and ſimple conſtruction; all the operations upon the corn, as well as the meal, are effected by machines, with the ſole exception of the bolting, which is done nearly as in London,

don, and at the Perriers', in Paris. The management of this operation is confided to a lad, who receives the meal craned up in tubs, ſpreads it out on the loft, and diſtributes it among the different meal bags. "Mr. Frey," he ſaid, "is no friend of Evans's machine; he does not like the conſtruction." This was the only motive I could learn. The mill grinds for Mr. Frey himſelf about thirty thouſand buſhels of wheat a year; he ſends the flour as far as Newport. Four journeymen and one apprentice do the buſineſs about the mill; they are all Germans; their wages are from ſeven to ten dollars per month; they ſeem ſenſible and active people. Mr. Frey keeps, independent of the mill, which alſo grinds corn for the public, a ſhop in the city, which is about a quarter of a mile diſtant. His houſe is the only ſtone building in the town, which contains about thirty houſes built with wood.

From its ſituation and trade, Middle Town ſhould be the chief town of the county; but, in this caſe, Mr. Frey would have been obliged to ſacrifice about three or four ground ſhares for the erection of public buildings, which he did not chooſe to do, though he poſſeſſes a great many ſhares. Harriſburg is therefore become the

the chief town of the county. The inhabitants of Middle Town and the neighbouring country, we may eaſily conceive, are highly diſpleaſed with old Mr. Frey, for having thus neglected the intereſts of the town; but he laughs at them, becauſe he is rich, and grows daily richer, by ſelling them his decayed ſtores.

The price of land is here from twenty-ſeven to thirty dollars. A day labourer gets three ſhillings and nine pence per day, and beef ſells at five pence per pound. The inn, where we took up our quarters, is good; but on our going to reſt, a ſtranger entered our bed-room, according to American cuſtom, to go to bed, and we were told, that we might think ourſelves extremely fortunate, that we were not obliged to ſhare one of our beds with him.

Middle Town is diſtant twenty-ſeven miles from Lancaſter. Three Frenchmen have ſettled in this ſmall place. One is a goldſmith and watch-maker, and is ſaid to have much buſineſs; another is a phyſician, and earns likewiſe his ſubſiſtence; the calling of the third I have not been able to learn; he probably aſſiſts the other two in conſuming their earnings. We have experienced here a ſcorching heat, and frequently

frequently two thunder-ſtorms in one day; the falling of rain always encreaſes the heat.

Wedneſday, the 13th of May.

Mr. HARRIS, lord of the manor on which Harriſburg ſtands, availed himſelf of Mr. Frey's error, to procure his town the advantages, that the former neglected. No ſooner was it in contemplation, to form the tract of country, ſeparated from Lancaſter, into a diſtinct county, than he offered to the government of Pennſylvania, to ſacrifice not only a toll on the Suſquehannah, of which he was poſſeſſed, and the profits of which he lawfully enjoyed, but alſo ſeveral thouſand acres of land, in and about the town, reſerving to himſelf only twenty ground ſhares. This offer induced the government of Pennſylvania, to make this the chief town of the county, though it has neither an anchoring place for the ſhips, that ſail up and down the river, nor can afford them the ſmalleſt ſhelter. The new county obtained the name of Dauphin. The firſt houſes were built here in 1785; and their number at preſent amounts to three hundred. The formation of this town being of a more recent date than that of any other,

other, the buildings were, from the very firſt, of a better conſtruction than any where elſe; and ſuch as were not originally good houſes, have ſince been rebuilt. Very few log-houſes are, therefore, to be found in Harriſburg: but, on the contrary, many ſubſtantial and handſome edifices; and though this town is ſmaller, and of later eſtabliſhment than Reading and many other places, yet it is more compact, and has a much better appearance. A malignant epidemic fever has made the ſame havoc in Harriſburg, as the yellow fever did in Philadelphia, and for a whole twelvemonth checked the progreſs of building. As the fever did not return laſt year, however, building is again going on; but the prejudice of the town being inſalubrious ſtill remains, whether it be really ſo, or, as the inhabitants affirm, merely a ſcandalous report, propagated by the jealouſy of the neighbouring towns. The unhealthineſs of the place being imputed to the ſtagnation of ſome water, which was made to turn a mill, it was propoſed to the miller, to throw down the dam, and an indemnification was offered him. He demanded, laſt year, four thouſand dollars; but this ſum not having been raiſed ſoon enough, in his opinion, he this year raiſed his demand in proportion to the encreaſed

deſire

desire of destroying his dam, and insisted on the payment of eleven thousand dollars. The inhabitants, enraged at this exorbitant demand, and, at the same time, earnestly wishing for the demolition of the dam, unanimously resolved to destroy it, and appointed a commission, to award a just indemnification to the miller, which has been determined at the sum he first demanded. All the inhabitants seem to have concurred in this proceeding, which, though not to be applauded, is less censurable, on account of the miller's enormous rapacity. The unanimity, with which this transaction was accomplished, ensures its impunity; and the miller will be cautious of entering upon a prosecution, as the grand jury would certainly throw out his bill. He has no one to blame but himself for the destruction of his dam; and the public opinion, which, by a more prudent conduct, he might last year have engaged in his favour, is now decidedly against him. Yet with many of the demolishers themselves it remains a matter of doubt, whether the demolition of the dam have any way increased the salubrity of the place.

A prison and a sessions-house have been built at Harrisburg, and a plan is in agitation to form an anchorage for ships. The inhabitants exert their

their utmoſt efforts, to procure to this place all the advantages of which it is ſuſceptible, and even indulge a hope, that the ſeat of the government of the ſtate will be removed to their town. They form a central point, at leaſt for the population of Pennſylvania; and are leſs diſtant from the remote weſtern parts than any other county on this ſide the Suſquehannah, and on theſe local advantages they ground their hopes. It is, however, to be wiſhed, that their notion, of determining the ſeat of the legiſlature by a pair of compaſſes, may be confined to men who cannot influence the deciſion; and that it may be rightly underſtood, how much better it is for the deputies to travel one hundred miles further, than to remove the ſeat of government from Philadelphia, which is the moſt populous city, and the only trading town in Pennſylvania, and which conſequently forms that point, where the beſt information is in uniſon with the moſt important intereſts.

The public expenditure, neceſſary in this newly formed county, cauſes the taxes to be ſomewhat higher than in the counties of Lancaſter and Berks; the difference may be a ſhilling in the pound. Unleſs you chance to meet with a commiſſioner of taxes, the exact propor-

tion is not to be ascertained, as a general ignorance on the subject every where prevails. The taxes, however, are generally deemed very light, even by those who pay them, which is undoubtedly the strongest proof that they are so.

The majority of the inhabitants of Harrisburg consists of Germans and Irishmen, firmly attached to government, sensible, and industrious. The number of inns in America is out of all proportion to that in Europe. This place contains no less than thirty-eight. It has twenty-five or thirty shops, where may be found all sorts of merchandize, procured from Philadelphia on twelve or eighteen months credit, and of which the shop-keepers rapidly dispose at double or treble their prime cost.

The price of ground-shares in the town of Harrisburg is from one hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars. The land in the surrounding country is good; its price is from thirty-two to forty-eight dollars an acre; day-labourers are paid here three shillings and six-pence a day with their board, or five shillings without it.

The Susquehannah near Harrisburg is about three quarters of a mile in breadth: in summer it is frequently fordable. The navigation is extremely dangerous for several months, in consequence

ſequence of ſome rapid currents, and never ſafe except in ſpring and autumn, when the water is ſufficiently high to cover the rocks, which become more numerous at the point where the Juniata falls into the Suſquehannah, nine miles above Harriſburg, and greatly encreaſe the dangers of the navigation. The government of Pennſylvania has offered eight hundred thouſand dollars for clearing the river of theſe rocks from the above point down to Middle Town; but hitherto no one has ventured upon this enterprize. I entertain no doubt, however, but that this vaſt undertaking will ſhortly be accompliſhed, though the ſum hitherto offered may not be ſufficient, but muſt probably be increaſed. The induſtry and proſperity of Pennſylvania will, in time, overcome this, as well as many other diſadvantages, which have heretofore been deemed inſuperable. A Frenchman reſides at preſent at Harriſburg, who was born in France, but came hither from Martinico. He is a phyſician, and though he ſpeaks but little Engliſh, and has reſided here only a few months, enjoys already conſiderable practice.

We had a letter to General HANNAH; and as we intended to ſtop here but a few hours, we delivered it as ſoon as we alighted from our

horſes. General Hannah is a man of about thirty-ſix or thirty-eight years of age, and Brigadier General of the Militia. He was a member of the Senate for Pennſylvania, but went out by rotation laſt autumn. Before he was engaged in the ſervice of the ſtate, he was a lawyer; but he has ſince relinquiſhed that profeſſion, and has commenced farmer. He has married a daughter of old Mr. HARRIS, the founder of the town, and appears to be an upright, worthy character. Not being prepared to give us a dinner, as we came unexpectedly, he offered to attend us to our evening quarters, ſeven miles from this town, as ſome token of reſpect for the letter of introduction which we brought him. As our horſes wanted ſhoeing, we were obliged to make him wait ſome time, which we paſſed in the true American ſtyle, quaffing a bottle of Madeira and ſmoaking ſegars. The general is not fond of them, but prefers chewing tobacco; yet, from motives of politeneſs, he ſmoaked with us. Being at our lodgings we propoſed as a toaſt, "the PRESIDENT," upon which he immediately gave, "LA FAYETTE." I notice this trifling circumſtance, to introduce once more the remark, that La Fayette is conſtantly toaſted next to the Preſi-

dent,

dent, which, in my judgment, reflects honour on America.

We took up our quarters at MAC ALISTER'S. General Hannah is acquainted with him, and being informed of my wish to collect authentic agricultural information, he was desirous of introducing me to one of these gentlemen, who are most able to impart it. Mac Alister is a farmer, and, at the same time, proprietor of a corn-mill, a saw-mill, a distillery, and an inn. He is the same on whom COOPER, in his "Account of America," bestows so much praise. Mac Alister is an active, enterprizing, industrious, and intelligent man. About eleven years ago he bought the ground, on which he has formed the several different establishments of his industry. These are all in a thriving way. His estate consists of about three hundred acres, which are partly hemmed in between the Blue and Second Mountains; but, for the most part, are situate on the Blue Mountains. The cultivated ground amounts in the whole to one hundred and twenty acres, fifty of which are laid out in artificial meadows, and thirty-six in orchards for apple and peach-trees. The meadows are beautiful, and the fields in good order. He extols them far above all other fields in America, but

we have met with ſome, even in the vicinity of Reading, and in the county of Lancaſter, which are beyond compariſon better than his. He aſſured us, that he never lays dung on any part of his land but meadows, which he alſo waters; and that his only manure for land, which he ſows with corn or clover, conſiſts in ſowing it with clover three years ſucceſſively, and plowing down the clover whilſt it is in bloſſom. By his aſſertion his land yields generally ſixty buſhels an acre of maize, or thirty buſhels of wheat, but it has not the appearance of producing ſuch conſiderable crops. He ſows a larger proportion of grain than is uſual in this country; but this is not always a certain method of obtaining a rich harveſt. His orchards are uncommonly fine; he makes as good cyder as I have ever taſted in America. He finds labourers in abundance, and pays them at preſent three ſhillings a day; becauſe, from the preſent high value of corn, the price of day-labour has riſen one ſhilling.

The price of the neighbouring lands is eight dollars an acre if covered with wood, and fifty dollars if they be cleared, and in any degree cultivated. He keeps no ſheep, at leaſt not above twenty; becauſe, as he told us, they do not yield

yield him so much profit as his meadows, which produce two tuns and half of hay per acre, worth twenty-five dollars. For the same reason he fattens no cattle. His ridges are as flat as those of other farmers, and his dung is badly managed, though he uses a great deal on the land; he lays sometimes twenty loads or thirty tuns of dung on an acre. His mill is a very indifferent one indeed; but he assures me, that he means soon to build a new one, which will greatly excel that of Mr. Frey, in Middle Town. The present mill has two courses, which generally grind corn of his own, but are at times employed for the public, and are frequently set to pulverize plaster of Paris, which he mixes with his seed. He informed us, that he grinds fifteen thousand bushels of wheat a year on his own account; but, on comparing his mill with that of Frey, which grinds no more in proportion without ever stopping, I feel inclined to doubt the veracity of his assertion. He sends his meal in waggons to Philadelphia, the carriage of which amounts, at times, to seventeen shillings per barrel. His saw-mill is almost constantly going. The logs are floated down the river from the upper country when the water is high; and he cuts them into planks, which he sells

on the ſpot; deals at ſix ſhillings per hundred, and other planks at eight ſhillings. Theſe prices are the ſame as at Harriſburg. His whiſky alſo is ſold on the ſpot; and the grain for the diſtillery he receives likewiſe from the upper country. A buſhel of rye yields about three gallons of whiſky; and he diſtils yearly four thouſand gallons. He makes ſpirit from his cyder too; but, ſuch is the power of habit, that cyder-whiſky, which, in Jerſey, ſells at five ſhillings per gallon, while corn-whiſky is worth only four and ſixpence, coſts, in the county of Dauphin, only three ſhillings and ſixpence, and corn-whiſky five ſhillings.

This important ſettlement ſtands on a wild, romantic ſpot, at the entrance of a narrow vale, covered with wood, and ſituate on a rapid creek, that daſhes along over rocks, where decayed trees, either felled by the hand of man, or rooted up by the wind, are ſcattered in every direction. The various buildings, of which the ſettlement conſiſts, are of wood; they are all, with the ſingle exception of the inn, log-houſes, more or leſs rudely formed. The houſes of the labourers ſtand on the Suſquehannah, and in the precincts of Fort Hunter, which was erected a long time ago by the Engliſh for defence againſt

againſt the inroads of the Indians. Mac Aliſter intends greatly to embelliſh his buildings, and conſiderably to improve his eſtate, particularly by the culture of the vine. From what he has already done, it may be fairly inferred, that he will alſo ſucceed in his future undertakings. He is a man of an acute, well-informed mind, ſuch as we ſhould hardly expect to find in an American farmer, ſhut up in mountainous wilds. Yet his ſelf-love and vanity keep pace with his merits, and frequently detract from the latter, by exaggerating them. For the ſame reaſon his aſſertions are not to be received as abſolutely certain, nor are we to wonder at being occaſionally deceived by a man, who is conſtantly deceiving himſelf.

Thurſday, the 14th of May.

Five or ſix ranges of heights run in parallel directions, more or leſs diſtant, from Harriſburg to Sunbury; round ſeveral of theſe the road winds, particularly the Blue Mountains and Second Mountains, making an undulation along the banks of the river, while it riſes over others. Theſe Blue Mountains, which catch the eye, on opening any deſcription whatever of America, are like all the others, with which they are connected,

nected, a mere ridge of high hills, through which the Suſquehannah ſeems to have worked out his bed. Their ſummits have not that riſe and fall, which is common to the generality of chains of mountains, but form one uninterrupted line, without the leaſt variety, in point of elevation. The trees, with which they are all uniformly covered, may probably contribute, in ſome meaſure, to give them this monotonous appearance. The Blue Mountains are not the higheſt, over which the road leads; the Peter's and Mahangoning Mountains far exceed them in height, though they are much lower than the Voghesian Mountains. You paſs them by a road, which, though very ſtony, is yet tolerably good; its declivity, with the exception of a few places, is not very ſteep. Theſe mountains are covered with wood; where this has been cut down, a view of the Suſquehannah opens at times, or the eye repoſes on ſome cultivated ſpots. The whole road lies through one uninterrupted foreſt. Another road, which does not lead over the mountains, runs parallel to the courſe of the river; and though the latter road be more pleaſant, affording a proſpect of the confluence of the Juniata and Suſquehannah, yet we preferred the former, from the more frequent opportunities

portunities which it affords of obtaining a knowledge of the country.

At no great diſtance from Mac Aliſter's habitation, pines are the prevailing trees; and a great many flowers and herbs grow in this foreſt, which are unknown in Europe.

Honeyſuckles are found in almoſt every wood. The bloſſoms are longer than in our gardens, but they have the ſame ſhape, and nearly the ſame fragrance. The ſhrubs, on which they grow, are much lower than thoſe reared by art; they have longer indented leaves than the latter; and though I have frequently found them near large trees, yet I never ſaw the plants leaning for ſupport towards the trunk of the tree. Trees, rooted up by the wind, which in their fall have often brought others to the ground, continue on the ſame ſpot until they are rotten: they frequently obſtruct the paſſage, but the traveller makes a new path, by going round them, and this becomes the common road.

In the progreſs of this long journey through foreſts, we ſaw the country in its firſt ſtage of cultivation. We found a few ſtraggling houſes, one or two miles diſtant from each other; the greateſt number are yet unfiniſhed. They are log-houſes, with the interſtices between the trunks

trunks filled up with earth. Some have been ſtanding there ſeveral years, and are rather more covered. Maize is the general produce. The habitations ſtand chiefly in vallies, on a brook or creek. The new ſettlers begin their operations by building a houſe, by felling trees, or paring off the bark all around the tree, about five or ſix inches in breadth, by breaking up the ground, on which they ſtand, to ſow a little corn, and by fencing the ground, thus cleared, with a part of the felled trees. The land firſt cleared is generally laid out as an orchard, one being annexed to every habitation. Moſt of the houſes have a mean appearance; the inhabitants are badly clothed, but every thing around them is their own property. Land, recently cleared, is every where good; and the two or three acres, which have been firſt broken up, afford crops ſufficiently rich to ſupply the inhabitants till further cultivation takes place. This conſideration ſomewhat relieves the mind, depreſſed by the view of theſe melancholy manſions. The roads are, in general, better than might be expected; here and there ſtony, and rather ſteep, but by no means dangerous. In this mountainous country we have even met with good roads ſeveral miles in length, formed by the hand of nature, and

which

which remain undamaged by the tracks of large waggons. There are places where the road appears to encroach upon the Suſquehannah itſelf; being formed of trees thrown down with their branches on, and the interſtices filled up with fragments of ſtone from the rocks, againſt which the road is made. The views here are far leſs pictureſque, and all the roads much leſs bold, and leſs pleaſingly awful, than thoſe which we find in ſome parts of Switzerland, the ſublime grandeur of which is above all compariſon.

Inns are by no means numerous on the road we have lately travelled. Formerly there were inns at this place; but as a certain ſum is annually paid to the ſtate for a licence, and as the profits are not equal to their expence, few perſons undertake ſo unprofitable an employment. We paſſed one about twelve miles from Mac Aliſter's habitation, which is the only one on this road, in a tract of country twenty-two miles in extent. All the intermediate inns have been ſhut up in the courſe of this year.

At length we arrived at an old German's, who, after having ſerved in Canada in the war of 1758, as a private ſoldier, in an Engliſh regiment, ſettled, at the concluſion of peace, on the ſpot where he ſtill reſides; the government of

of Pennſylvania having granted him the land, which forms his eſtate. Here he lived unmoleſted until the beginning of the war of the revolution; when the Indians, at that time ſtimulated and paid by England, drove him from his plantation. When peace was eſtabliſhed, he returned hither, and now enjoys the produce of fifty acres of cultivated land, forty of which are his own property. Land in theſe parts is very good; its price is ſeven or eight dollars per acre uncleared, and the value of ſuch as is partly cleared, is proportionate to the quality of the land, and the quantity of wood remaining. The higheſt price is from eighteen to twenty dollars per acre. Good ſtabling and good oats were ſufficient to reconcile us to the dirty hole, into which we were uſhered, and where we ſat down to a very bad dinner. Four or five girls, who are either daughters or ſervants of the old ſoldier, perform the buſineſs of the inn, which conſiſts of one room, where theſe people ſleep altogether. The uncleanlineſs, ſtupidity, and rudeneſs of the whole family, can hardly be conceived. The old ſoldier, in common with the generality of old warriors, diſplays in his behaviour a frankneſs and good nature, which are ever ſure to pleaſe. The poor fellow can neither write nor read; he preſents

ſents to every traveller a ſlate and pencil to write down his bills, as he dictates to them; for there is not a ſingle perſon in the houſe able to diſtinguiſh one letter from another. He complained of being frequently cheated by travellers, in their ſumming up the articles, for which they were to pay.

We met two travellers at this inn, who, as well as ourſelves, intended to go to Sunbury, but they wiſhed to proceed on the journey that very evening. One was a hatter, whom we had ſeen the night before at Mac Aliſter's; and the other an elderly man, whom the landlord ſtyled COLONEL, and who arrived, and left the inn, leading a mare, followed by a foal. The converſation, during our ſtay at the inn, turned on the political ſtate of Europe. The prevailing ſentiment was hatred againſt England, and fervent wiſhes for the welfare of France: even the old ſoldier, who now and then put in an obſervation, expreſſed the ſame feelings. "This campaign will ſhow," ſaid the hatter, "what the French are able to do." "I am perſuaded," obſerved the colonel, "that if the French are in arms, they will prove victorious, and conquer the whole globe; and it has been foretold long ago, that this conqueſt muſt precede the arrival of Antichriſt, and announce

nounce the end of the world." "The end of the world? Is it then ſo near at hand, pray?" aſked the old ſoldier. "Moſt aſſuredly; before fifteen years are elapſed." "That's my opinion too," rejoined the hatter. Having drunk their gill of whiſkey, theſe politicians ſeparated.

From DEBLERFF's, which is the name of the old ſoldier, we proceeded twelve miles farther to WHITE's, where we intended to paſs the night. The road leads over woody mountains, but is, all the way, better than we expected to find it, from the deſcription that was given us. This road runs for a conſiderable extent, in a parallel direction with the Suſquehannah, which is here confined between two ranges of mountains, rarely interrupted by vallies, and by none of any conſiderable extent. This ſide of the county of Northumberland (for we left the county of Dauphin fifteen miles from Mac Aliſter's habitation) diſplays rather more cultivation than the adjacent ſide of the county of Cumberland, where only once in every four or five miles a ſmall dwelling is ſeen, ſurrounded with narrow tracts of cultivated land. The river forms a great number of iſles, which, according to law, belong to that county, from which they are ſeparated by the narroweſt arm of the ſtream. Theſe

iſlands

iſlands have, in general, a good ſoil, for which reaſon, the progreſs of cultivation is more rapid on them than any where elſe.

White is a farmer, who came hither from Ireland about thirty years ago, and poſſeſſes at this time an eſtate of one thouſand one hundred acres, only one hundred and ten of which have hitherto been cleared. He has reſided here about ſeventeen years, and has found means to raiſe money enough to purchaſe an iſle, at twenty-ſix dollars per acre, ſituate oppoſite to his houſe, which ſtands between the mountains and the river. This ſituation affords a wild proſpect, but without one pleaſing feature. White annually clears ſeveral acres, the expence of which, fencing included, amounts to eight dollars per acre. The price of land, in its natural ſtate, is, in this neighbourhood, ſix dollars per acre; but in ſuch tracts, as are cleared of wood, particularly in the iſlets, it is frequently ſold at forty dollars per acre. This plantation of White's has no communication with any market town. The river is the only channel by which he can receive goods, or forward his commodities, and this is a very uncertain channel of conveyance, at leaſt ſome part of the year, on account of its dangerous navigation. Mr. White would eaſily procure

labourers, as all his neighbours are poor Iriſh-men, did not the conſtruction of the canal, and the opening of the road near Lancaſter, afford them ſo much employment, and at preſent render them ſcarce. Mr. White has already been twice a member of the legiſlature of the ſtate of Pennſylvania. He ſeems a worthy, ſenſible man, and a friend of order; but at the ſame time very open to the arts of deſigning men. He continues his inn, as he ſays, "to oblige travellers," yet his bills ſhew, that he ſerves them for money, and that too at a higher rate than is uſual; and as he has put up no ſign, the reception of travellers aſſumes the garb of hoſpitality, which naturally precludes all enquiry into the unreaſonableneſs of his charges.

We did not ſup with his family; for what reaſon, I know not. His daughter brought us our coffee as uſual. This is always taken at ſupper, which conſiſts of ſmoked beef, ſalt-meat, or fiſh. At theſe inns you ſeldom meet with any thing but meat, ſalt-fiſh, eggs, and butter; and this fare is certainly ſufficient to ſatisfy a hungry ſtomach. We were aſked every where, whether we travelled with a view to buy lands. There is hardly a perſon in America, who has the leaſt idea of gentlemen travelling with

with any other deſign; and when we told them, that we travelled for no other purpoſe than to gratify our curioſity, they thought we were fools, or, at beſt, liars. All, even our Dunkers in Ephrata, put that queſtion; and, notwithſtanding their own ſanctity, theſe holy folks would hardly believe us, when we informed them of the object of our tour.

Friday, the 15th of May.

The road from White's to Sunbury continues much the ſame, as from Mac Aliſter's to White's. We met, however, at times, with more cultivated vallies, eſpecially along the creek Tulpehocken, and with houſes better conſtructed and ſtanding on pictureſque ſituations, which, with the appearance of ſome retired rocks, form landſcapes not unworthy of compariſon with Switzerland. Several other tracts are now cleared of wood; but from the want of labourers, and undoubtedly of money alſo, the trees are more frequently barked and burnt than felled, which renders the proſpect dull and gloomy. The mountains, in this part of the country, are high and rocky, yet bear no compariſon with the Alps or Pyrenees. Impudent and artful men are certain in America, as indeed they are

in all other parts of the globe, to live upon the ſtupidity and ignorance of others. Of this we found a remarkable inſtance in the hiſtory of a German, who arrived from Franckfort, three years ago, without a ſhilling in his pocket, and who ſince that time has travelled the country between Lancaſter, Reading, and Northumberland, particularly the leaſt inhabited parts of theſe counties, with a collection of ſmall phials, deceiving the people into a belief, that he is a phyſician; he vends medicines, bleeds, draws teeth, or ſells ballads to ſuch as do not chooſe to buy his drugs. The profits of this artful trade have already enabled him to purchaſe a horſe, which carries him, his commodities, and his dog; he ſtays with the farmers as long as they are willing to keep him; and ſeveral of them are glad to entertain him, on account of his knowledge and abilities. He makes himſelf happy every where, is merry, ſings a good ſong, and appears, upon the whole, to be a ſly, crafty fellow, who began his career as a player. I am aware, that the various anecdotes, with which I preſent my readers, are not all equally intereſting; yet they are all requiſite to give a juſt notion of my tour, and to complete the delineation of the cuſtoms and manners of the country.

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The mountains, over which the road from Harriſburg to Sunbury leads, are all of granite, more or leſs perfect, which in ſome places is very fine and beautiful. All the ſpecies of maple, cornel-tree, called here dog-tree, ſumach, Weymouth pine, ſeveral ſpecies of aſh, and numberleſs pſeudo-acacias, grow in the ſurrounding woods, and are here of remarkable ſize and beauty.

At ſome diſtance from White's habitation we miſtook our way, and ſtruck into the old road, inſtead of keeping the new one, which is ſhorter by ſeven miles, and lies along the banks of the Suſquehannah. In conſequence we croſſed the mountain Mahonoy, to reach the plain, in which Sunbury ſtands. This town, which is not ſo large as Harriſburg, and in its buildings leſs elegant and compact, is ſeated on the left bank of the Suſquehannah, about half a mile below the ſpot, where its two arms join. The proſpect of the town, on deſcending the mountain, is neither grand nor pleaſing; in point of ſize the houſes, viewed from the heights, reſemble a camp, rather than a town. The ſmall ſurrounding plain is but indifferently cultivated, and without trees. The oppoſite bank of the river is bounded by high mountains, the proſpect of

which is darkened by numerous pines, growing on the rocks, and conſequently not likely to be cut down, to make way for cultivation. The river Suſquehannah is beautiful in every point of view, broad, with lofty majeſtic mountains, riſing in gradual elevation from its banks; yet it is here leſs pleaſing, except where the great variety of iſles, which it forms, and which are planted with trees, ſoften and enliven the prevailing gloom by the light that gleams through their branches. The Suſquehannah, near Sunbury, is more than a mile in breadth.

By the moſt correct information, which we were able to obtain, the inhabitants of all the counties, we have hitherto traverſed, are honeſt, induſtrious people, attached to the federal government, and to the laws of the ſtate. Criminal offences are rare, ſome thefts excepted, which are generally committed by people, lately arrived from Europe, brought up in ignorance and penury, and whoſe morals generally improve as they acquire a ſmall property of their own. The different counties, through which we have paſſed, have for theſe many years formed integral parts of the ſtate of Pennſylvania. The limits of the lands are, therefore, more exactly aſcertained here, than in other counties; and conſe-

consequently law-suits, arising from the confusion of land-marks, are less frequent. These give occasion to about a twelfth part of the causes which are tried here: outstanding debts are the chief subjects of legal prosecutions. The manners of the people display great simplicity, frequently bordering on rudeness. I have heard it asserted, that this apparent simplicity is merely a cloak for deceit and artifice, but I have made no discoveries of that kind by my own experience. Among the Americans of every rank and description, there prevails less of apparent civility and politeness than in France, or even in England, where I have found both, though in a different guise: yet we have experienced much good-natured, free, and engaging kindness, even from persons to whom we had no letters of introduction, and an universal readiness to resolve our questions, whenever they, to whom they were addressed, were able to gratify our request. Ignorance, and consequently prejudices, are frequently met with, even among the higher orders of society: there are indeed some exceptions, but these are few. Opinions on things and persons are delivered in a manner positive rather than argumentative, and consequently all means of free discussion are generally excluded. Poli-

tical opinions tend in general towards liberty, and are commonly offered with a frankneſs, a boldneſs, and independence, which are truly pleaſing. The general bent of the public opinion is in favour of France, and againſt her preſent enemies. It is by no means an uncommon thing, to hear farmers, unconnected with the higher circles, call Robeſpierre, and all thoſe who ſhared with him the ſupreme power, the banditti of France. The exaſperation againſt England is great, ſpreads through all ranks of ſociety, and has been much increaſed by the unjuſt proceedings againſt America, with which ſhe was charged laſt year. In my opinion, Mr. JAY's negociation will hardly be able to ſmother the glowing ſpark. The public opinion is chiefly guided by the univerſal deſire of amaſſing property, which, if merely diſplayed in induſtrious purſuits, and exertions to cultivate and improve the land, deſerves much praiſe. In towns, indeed, it is leſs nice, both in the manner in which it ſhews itſelf, and the means it employs to attain its end. Many of my European countrymen are apt to cenſure this national bent, which precludes all the finer and nobler emotions of the ſoul. To this cenſure I cannot give my unqualified aſſent; and though I readily allow, that an immoderate love

of

of money hardens the heart, and renders it callous to humanity, to civility, nay to juſtice itſelf, yet it does not follow, that it ſhould be utterly incapable of a good and noble action. We have inſtances of this in Europe, where love of money is as univerſally prevalent as in this country, though it conceals itſelf more than here; either becauſe it is more criminally refined, or meets with leſs convenient opportunities of being practiſed. Similar inſtances occur in America. Again, if we conſider this propenſity in a political point of view, we ſhall find, that it is the natural reſult of its preſent infant ſtate; of the variegated compoſition of its inhabitants, who are emigrants from every corner of the globe, full of the prejudices and partialities of the country whence they came; of the immenſe variety of eaſy ſpeculations, which croud around the monied men; and laſtly, of the diſtinction enjoyed here by wealth, which exceeds that derived from it in other countries: for, a few eminent ſtations excepted, which are occupied but a ſhort time, and meritorious ſervices rendered, which are ſoon forgotten by the people, there exiſts in this country no perſonal diſtinction. In fine, this way of thinking in private individuals is the moſt certain means of rendering the country itſelf more proſperous

ſperous and important. And is not this the higheſt advantage derived from the univerſal intereſt, which unites and ſupports ſociety, that, with the exception of a few caſes, no member can enrich himſelf, without promoting at the ſame time the proſperity of others? Though this obſervation more generally applies to agriculture, yet there exiſts hardly one deſcription of proſperity, nay of individual luxury, where it does not hold good. The people of America live well; the ſoil produces all the neceſſaries of life, even in a very ſuperficial ſtate of cultivation: there are few perſons, who do not poſſeſs more than they need for their own maintenance. Hence ariſes the indolence of a great number of the inhabitants, who, having by four days labour earned a whole week's ſubſiſtence, idle away the remaining three days; hence their lazineſs, relative to agricultural improvements, which would require ſums of money, and other ſacrifices, of the neceſſity of which they are not convinced, being inſenſible of the advantages to be derived from them. Improvements, ſimilar to thoſe which have already been made in regard to the political organization of ſociety, to commercial relations, navigation, and roads, will certainly be effected in agriculture in the proceſs of time. But, before they

they can take place, the land-owners muſt be more forcibly impreſſed with the neceſſity of rouſing from their indolence, and abandoning their prejudices; and the population muſt be increaſed beyond its preſent amount; which will certainly be done. Though all this muſt happen in the uſual courſe of nature, yet men of abilities, and learned ſocieties, ſhould endeavour to diffuſe uſeful lights by good books, by collections of inſtructive extracts from European works of acknowledged merit, and by all other means of inſtruction. For, undoubtedly, they may thus accelerate the period, when the neceſſity of the above improvements will be more ſenſibly felt. In a country like this, literary ſocieties may prove eminently uſeful, if they do not aſſume too learned an appearance, but are animated and guided by the true public ſpirit, which ſpeaks a ſimple and perſpicuous language, and readily repeats its inſtructions, untinctured with the vain ſelfiſhneſs, which generally dictates the profeſſions of private individuals.

The increaſe of the price of land is uncommonly great, it having been more than doubled within the laſt three or four years. Though the price of labour, from the high value of ground, which, within theſe laſt twelve months, has experienced

perienced an extraordinary riſe, is higher than uſual; yet it ſeems ſtill the moſt profitable ſpeculation for monied men in this country, to lay out their money in land, which they may have cleared and cultivated under their own eyes. Notwithſtanding this uncommon riſe of the price of land, inſtances of its being diſpoſed of at the ſame price, which prevailed ſome years ſince, are not unfrequent. The circumſtances, under which this happens, are, it is true, rather of a peculiar complexion, yet pretty common. If, for inſtance, a perſon, four years ago, bought eight hundred acres of land, and bound himſelf to pay a fourth of the purchaſe-money at the expiration of four years, but was either too indolent to raiſe within the time a handſome fortune by his labours, or ſpent the proceeds of his eſtate, which he ſhould have laid by to pay his debt; he muſt raiſe money as well as he can, and muſt ſell his land at any price, without being able to inſiſt on that which the adjacent lands fetch at this time.

The numerous banks, which have lately been eſtabliſhed, ſeem to have contributed not a little to the uncommon riſe of the price of land; for in proportion as they increaſe the quantity of money, they alſo multiply and facilitate the means of ſubſiſtence. It is by quickening the activity

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of internal commerce, and increaſing the means of converting property into money, that *banks* raiſe the value of lands in ſale.

A relaxation is obſervable among all orders of ſociety. Drunkenneſs is the prevailing vice, and, with few exceptions, the ſource of all other evils. A ſpirit, or rather habit of equality, is diffuſed among this people, as far as it poſſibly can go. In ſeveral inns, eſpecially ſuch as are ſituate on leſs frequented roads, the circumſtance of our ſervant not dining with us at the ſame table excited general aſtoniſhment, without its beſpeaking any bad intention on the part of thoſe who manifeſted it. The inhabitants exhibit to ſtrangers ſtriking inſtances both of the utmoſt cleanlineſs and exceſſive naſtineſs. They are much ſurpriſed at a refuſal, to ſleep with one or two other men in the ſame bed, or between dirty ſheets, or to drink after ten other perſons out of the ſame dirty glaſs; and they wonder no leſs, when they ſee ſtrangers neglect to waſh their hands and face every morning. Whiſky mixed with water is the common drink in the country. There is no ſettler, however poor, whoſe family do not drink coffee and chocolate, and eat ſalt meat at breakfaſt. At dinner comes ſalt meat again, or ſalt fiſh and eggs; and at ſupper, once more

more ſalt meat and coffee. This is alſo the general rule in inns. An American ſits down at the table of his landlord, and lies down in the bed, which he finds empty, or occupied but by one perſon, without in the leaſt enquiring, in the latter of theſe caſes, who that perſon may be. We have hitherto fortunately eſcaped a perſonal trial of this laſt American cuſtom, but were very near experiencing it at White's.

The roads are good, where the ſoil is ſo, the road by Lancaſter excepted; art has hitherto but little meddled with the roads in Pennſylvania. Such ſpots, as are bad and muddy, are filled up with trees, placed near each other; when theſe ſink into the ground, others are laid upon them. Over ſmall brooks, bridges are thrown, which conſiſt of boards, placed on two beams, laid along the banks of the brook. Theſe boards frequently rot, and remain in this condition for months together, without its entering into any one's head, to replace them with others. We have paſſed ſeveral ſuch bridges, with great danger to our horſes, from the bad condition of the boards. All this will be better in time; yet I mean to deſcribe things juſt as they are now. Creeks are generally forded. Acroſs ſome, which are very deep, wooden bridges are thrown; which,

which, however, are not ſuch as they ſhould be: the boards, or ſmall trees, with which they are covered, are neither ſo good, nor ſo cloſe to each other, as might be wiſhed.

This is a brief ſketch of the phyſical and moral ſtate of the country, which we have hitherto traverſed, drawn after thoſe obſervations, which the ſhortneſs of the time allowed us to make. I ſhall occaſionally correct, what on more exact information I find to be erroneous, and ſupply what may be deficient.

Sunday, the 17th of May.

On the oppoſite ſide of the river, a mile above Sunbury, at the extreme point of the iſthmus, formed by the two arms of the Suſquehannah, ſtands Northumberland. Sunbury is the chief town of the county. But the ſmall number of public buildings, which are neceſſary for the adminiſtration of juſtice, conſtitute its only advantages over Northumberland; that, on the other hand, enjoys all the benefits of a fine ſituation, which, in fact, is as delightful as may be conceived. The two arms of the river forming a right angle at the point of their confluence; the country expands behind it in a ſemi-circular form, riſing in gentle ſwells of a fruitful ſoil, and

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connected with vallies and opening plains of ſtill richer ground. The banks of both arms of the river are ſuſceptible of cultivation to a wide extent, on the ſide where Northumberland ſtands. Both arms are navigable, without interruption, to a diſtance of three hundred miles, and water a ſoil, which courts cultivation. The number of houſes is at this time, perhaps, a ſixth greater at Sunbury than at Northumberland, where it amounts to about one hundred. The firſt houſes were built in 1775; yet the inhabitants were driven from them in the war of the revolution, and their habitations deſtroyed. The town was not rebuilt till the year 1785. It is undoubtedly the worſt built town we have hitherto ſeen. All the houſes are of wood, chiefly log-houſes; two only are built with ſtone. There is no market-place here; the town contains no inns, but three or four whiſky-houſes. We put up in that which is the beſt of them; and yet it rains on our beds, as well as on our horſes in the ſtable. Methinks there is hardly any place ſituate more favourably for its becoming a large city, than Northumberland. The ſlow progreſs, hitherto made by the town, I have heard imputed to the untoward character and little ſenſe of the gentleman, who poſſeſſed three-fourths of the ground

on

on which the town ſtands. He is lately dead; but had he lived longer, his exiſtence would have proved no impediment, that might not eaſily have been removed by the concurrence of favourable circumſtances.

The price of land about Northumberland is, at preſent, from twenty to twenty-four dollars per acre, near the river; that ſituate on the northern arm is ſtill dearer, on account of the better quality of the ſoil, and becauſe a greater part of the ground is already cleared there, than on the eaſtern arm. Farther up the river, land is ſold from four to ſix dollars an acre. The quality of the ſoil, the vicinity of a creek, and longer or ſhorter inſtalments, produce here the ſame variety in the price of land as in other parts. The value, which I point out, is the medium price. Ground-ſhares in the town are, at this time, ſold at forty-eight or fifty dollars.

The inhabitants of Northumberland, as well as of the county at large, conſiſt, for the moſt part, of Dutchmen. There are ſome Germans, and a few natives; but moſt of the inhabitants are foreigners. The Iriſh are, with a few exceptions, the worſt of them all. Being leſs induſtrious than the reſt, they are conſequently poorer; and the property of an Iriſhman is con-

ſtantly at the ſervice of ſuch as wiſh to have it. The Germans are more tenacious of theirs; and, for this reaſon, in Sunbury, and the adjacent country, where they reſide in conſiderable numbers, eſtates are dearer than in Northumberland, though the ſoil is of an inferior quality.

The ſtate of agriculture in Northumberland, and the adjacent country, is much the ſame as in all other parts of America; but the proportion of cleared land is ſmaller than in other counties we have traverſed. Labourers are eaſily found; they are paid ſix ſhillings a day without victuals, or three ſhillings and nine-pence with their entertainment. In the country, where they hire themſelves by the month, they have eight dollars, for which they are obliged to work twenty-ſix days. Bricklayers' and carpenters' wages are, in town, one dollar per day. The price of tiles is four dollars per thouſand; and very good bricks coſt, in Northumberland, two ſhillings and ſix pence, delivered free of expence.

The price of lime is from nine to ten-pence per buſhel, of deal-boards five ſhillings per hundred feet, and of other boards ſix ſhillings and ſix pence.

As there is no market, either in Northumberland or Sunbury, the inhabitants live, for the greater

greater part of the year, upon ſalted meat, unleſs they keep fowls. The farmers kill, at times, a cow; but ſince an epidemic diſeaſe has carried off almoſt all the horſes, they have been obliged to replace theſe by oxen for the purpoſes of agriculture, and conſequently uſe leſs beef than before. Cow-beef is at this time ſold from five pence to five-pence halfpenny per pound. The higheſt houſe-rent in Northumberland is eighty dollars; and there is but one houſe in the whole town for which ſo much is paid. It is of brick, large and convenient, and was but lately ſold for five thouſand two hundred dollars. Every thing is ſomewhat dearer at Sunbury, but the difference is not a full ſixth.

The land about Northumberland yields generally fifteen buſhels of wheat per acre, when it has attained what the farmers call a full ſtate of cultivation. The proportion of other crops is the ſame as in other places. Indian corn is produced in large quantities, which ſhews the ignorance and indolence of the farmers, for it exhauſts the ſoil; and though it ſupplies all the houſehold wants of a family, yet not a buſhel is ever exported from the place where it grows. A great advantage, which might be derived from it, by mixing its ſtalks with the dung, is entirely

neglected by the farmers. The ſheep are rather long-legged and meagre; yet the wool is good, and is ſold for two ſhillings and ſix pence per pound. But very little is ſold; for in this vale of Pennſylvania, as every where elſe, the farmers would be very ſorry indeed, if they were obliged to keep many ſheep.

I obſerved before, that the clearing of lands in certain well-choſen diſtricts is, in my judgment, the moſt profitable ſpeculation monied men can enter upon in this country. The information I collected in Northumberland affords an additional proof of the truth of this remark. The expence for clearing and fencing an acre, amounts, upon an average, to thirteen dollars; and this is pretty high. The firſt crops yield generally twenty buſhels of wheat, if the ground be well cleared, the trees, which ſtood in the middle, cut down, and the largeſt well barked. Wheat is ſold at this time for ten ſhillings per buſhel. The agreement entered upon with a farmer, relative to a piece of ground which has been cleared of wood, generally purports, that he is to have half the produce, but muſt alſo find the ſeed. The land-owner nets therefore the firſt harveſt five pounds, the value of ten buſhels of wheat at ten ſhillings, and conſequently more than the expence for clearing

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and fencing. If we ſuppoſe the medium price of wheat to be only five ſhillings and nine pence per buſhel, the land-owner obtains, even in this caſe, the firſt year, twenty-five per cent on the capital laid out; and yet there are many caſes where the former eſtimate falls ſhort of the real proceeds, as there are others where the latter is beyond them.

The prices riſe as faſt in the vicinity of Northumberland, as in other parts; but this country, which is uncommonly extenſive, is but thinly inhabited, even in ſuch diſtricts as are ſituate neareſt to Philadelphia; the preſent number of inhabitants does not exceed ſeventeen thouſand. The population encreaſes, however, yearly, through emigration from the Jerſeys, from New-England, and a part of Pennſylvania. One hundred and thirty families, emigrants from the Jerſeys, have very lately ſettled on the branches of the Suſquehannah. But the land-marks of the purchaſed ground are not always ſufficiently known, nor the right of the ſellers perfectly clear; for which reaſon actions, concerning diſputed limits, conſtitute nearly three-fourths of the cauſes, which are tried in the courts of law at Sunbury.

The political ſentiments of the inhabitants of Northumberland are leſs virtuous and ſteady,

than of the inhabitants of the leſs remote counties. Several of them took, laſt year, an active part in the revolt at Pittſburg, and ſtill remain in confinement, on account of that affair. A definitive judgment being now daily expected in this buſineſs, every traveller, eſpecially if he be ſuppoſed to come from Philadelphia, is aſked by the intereſted inhabitants, as ſoon as he arrives, whether he brings any news reſpecting that judgment. We were aſked, like all other travellers; and the queſtions, put to us on this ſubject, were conceived in terms, which by no means beſpoke good and loyal ſentiments.

Hard by Northumberland, on the northern arm of the Suſquehannah, and cloſe to the point of confluence of the two arms of that river, lies an iſle, which contains about two hundred and fifty acres of the richeſt ſoil, from fifty of which the largeſt trees have been cut down. The land is fit for all the purpoſes of agriculture; and might be cultivated with equal profit and ſatisfaction by an induſtrious owner. It is the moſt pleaſant little eſtate, which can poſſibly be bought by any perſon deſirous of ſettling in Northumberland. At preſent it is the property of a man, much advanced in years, who lives on it, in a ſmall log-houſe. He bought it about ſeven years

ago

ago for one thouſand ſix hundred dollars, and very lately refuſed three thouſand three hundred, which were offered for this iſle.

Northumberland is the reſidence of Doctor PRIESTLEY. They, who know with what relentleſs fury the Engliſh Government exerted all its influence to procure him to be harraſſed by the mob, his houſe in Birmingham to be burnt down to the ground, and himſelf to be inſulted and made uneaſy wherever he went, will, undoubtedly, feel for the fate of this gentleman, who has deſervedly obtained ſo much fame in the literary world, and whoſe perſecution, were he even guilty of the groſſeſt political miſconduct, which is by no means the caſe, cannot but deeply intereſt in his favour every feeling mind. This unwarrantable ſtretch of power muſt excite univerſal indignation, and it needs no gift of divination to foreſee, that the Engliſh mob, thus ſet upon their ſuppoſed enemies by the Engliſh miniſtry, may poſſibly turn, ſooner or later, againſt the inſtigators. However this may be, the perſecution experienced by Doctor Prieſtley would hardly have driven him ſo ſoon to quit England, had he not expected to enjoy in America that high celebrity and diſtinction, which were promiſed him by ſome flattering friends.

His celebrity was, however, of no long duration; the Americans are too little ſenſible of the value of that knowledge, by which he has acquired ſo diſtinguiſhed a rank among the literati of our age. They concern themſelves but very little about dogmatical diſcuſſions of the Bible, and the tenets of the Unitarians; and would readily give up all the experiments on air for one good and profitable ſpeculation. The perſecuted from various countries have, in theſe late years, ſought an aſylum among the Americans; ſuch arrivals are, therefore, no uncommon ſight to this people; and they have not much time to loſe in vain civilities. Under theſe circumſtances, the reſpect ſhewn to Dr. Prieſtley, who was a profound philoſopher, an admired writer, a celebrated chemiſt, and a victim of the Engliſh miniſtry, did not laſt long. A few dinners, given to him at New-York, where he landed, and at Philadelphia, to which place he afterwards proceeded, formed the whole train of honours, which graced his reception. His ſon, who arrived in America ſome time before him, had bought lands, where all the Unitarians, and all the perſecuted of Old England, were to join and rally under the Doctor's banner. This ſettlement was to enjoy a diſtinguiſhed protection on the part

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of the American Government; and to ſecure to the Doctor a name, as chief of the ſect, and founder of the colony. But theſe hopes have already vaniſhed. No Engliſhmen have arrived to purchaſe his lands; and the Government of the United States, even that of Pennſylvania, did not conſider the project of the Doctor's ſettlement as more important than that of any other individual. The conſtant praiſe of his uncommon merits as a natural philoſopher induced his friends at Philadelphia, to ſolicit for him the profeſſorſhip of chemiſtry in the college, which they obtained; but this place was far beneath the expectation of the Doctor, as well as of his family; and it became neceſſary, even for the preſervation of his celebrity in Europe, to withdraw from a ſcene, where his attempt of attracting univerſal attention had completely failed.

He therefore removed to Northumberland. The lands, purchaſed by his ſon, were ſituate in that county, though he had actually reſolved to relinquiſh the idea of founding a colony, which would have had no coloniſts but his own family; yet his removal to Northumberland, at leaſt had not the appearance of an intention to abandon, in ſo abrupt a manner, a project which had already been announced to the world.

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As Mr. Guillemard was ſlightly acquainted with Young PRIESTLEY, and more particularly with Mr. COOPER, who has alſo ſettled in Northumberland, we were induced to prefer halting at that town, rather than at Sunbury, though both lay on our road; that I might gratify the wiſh, which I entertained, to be introduced to a man ſo juſtly celebrated. The project of forming the intended ſettlement in the country is entirely relinquiſhed; Mr. Morris has generouſly taken back the greater part of the lands, which young Prieſtley bought of him laſt year, with all the formalities preſcribed by law. He has alſo found means to diſpoſe of the reſt, and has bought ſome land near the town, which he is now clearing and preparing for cultivation. The Doctor has built a houſe, to which he intends removing about the end of the ſummer. His modes of life and dreſs are nearly the ſame as in England, the wig excepted, which he has laid aſide. He frequently laughs at the world, but in a manner which clearly appears not to be from his heart. He ſpoke with great moderation of the political affairs of Europe, and in very mild expreſſions of England. He is now buſied in the inſtitution of a college, for which ſix thouſand dollars have already been ſubſcribed, and ſeven thouſand

thouſand acres have been aſſigned him, as a free gift. In this eſtabliſhment, of which he has drawn up a proſpectus, there is a preſident's place, doubtleſs intended for himſelf. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, the eldeſt ſon, ſeems at preſent to be more engaged in induſtrious purſuits, than in political diſcuſſions. He has married a young Engliſh lady, apparently of a mild and amiable diſpoſition, but who ſpeaks very little in company. She, as well as her mother-in-law, ſeem leſs to accommodate themſelves to American manners than their huſbands. Mr. Cooper has purchaſed ſome hundred acres of land, which he is at preſent clearing of wood, and preparing for cultivation. He is undoubtedly a man of parts, of a reſtleſs mind, ill adapted to find happineſs in a retired rural life. In the account he wrote of America, it was certainly his deſign, to perſuade coloniſts to join Dr. Prieſtley. In his manners, he affects at preſent a ſtrong predilection for American cuſtoms; and ſays, that he prefers his preſent mode of living to any other. He is ſuſpected here of aiming at a ſeat in Congreſs. In point of abilities at leaſt, he would hold no mean rank among its members. Some Engliſhmen, who lately arrived in America, intended to ſettle in the vicinity of Northumberland. It appears, however,

however, that they have abandoned that intention, diſguſted with the ſort of precedence claimed by Dr. Prieſtley and his family, and with the auſterity of their manners; though unqueſtionably the Doctor's acquaintance and library would prove a very great accommodation to new ſettlers; and his misfortunes and perſecutions cannot fail to intereſt every one in his favour. As a companion of Mr. Guillemard I was received by theſe families, with as much politeneſs as their cold and gloomy tempers ever diſplay.

In one of our water excurſions with young Prieſtley, in the vicinity of Northumberland, we landed near a wooden houſe, built againſt the ſide of a high mountain, which is covered with wood and fragments of rocks, and ſeparated from the river by a tract of land, about four and twenty yards wide. An Engliſh lady inhabits this ſmall houſe, which would prove a highly intereſting ſpot, if ſhe were young and handſome, and awake to the pleaſures or the ſorrows of love. But, alas! ſuch ſhe is not. She has three daughters, the youngeſt of whom, the only one that reſides with her, is twenty years old. This lady left England in conſequence of her huſband's becoming a bankrupt; to avoid the diſgrace, attending an event of that nature, which, however innocent

innocent the bankrupt may be, muſt wound his own feelings, as well as thoſe of his family; and to prepare an aſylum for her huſband, after he ſhall have ſettled his accounts with his creditors. Her name is DASH: her huſband was a banker of Bath, Colonel of the militia of his county, and enjoys the reputation of an honeſt man. It is abſolutely impoſſible, to diſplay more ſpirit and perſeverance, than this lady has done, ever ſince ſhe ſettled on this eſtate, not an inch of which was cultivated at the time ſhe purchaſed it. It contains about one hundred acres; on which, ſix months ago, not a hut was to be ſeen, and where not a tree was felled. All theſe obſtacles ſhe has ſurmounted. She is now building a ſtone houſe, and will, therefore, be able, within a twelvemonth, to receive her huſband in a retired and humble, yet decent habitation. The ſituation and misfortunes of this poor lady have in ſome degree injured her brain. But, this circumſtance, while it increaſes her loquacity, does not prevent her from purſuing that direct line of conduct, which ſhe has marked out for herſelf. Two of her daughters have been well married, ſince their arrival in America. With a ſort of enthuſiaſm, I liſtened to the other, who is at home,

home, whilſt ſhe played on the pianoforte. She performs very well, is young, pretty, unfortunate, modeſt, poſſeſſes no property on earth, and, in a wooden hut, plays upon one of the fineſt inſtruments, that ever came from Longman's ſhop. The ſtrange contraſt of all theſe circumſtances might eaſily obtain a young lover for Miſs Sarah Daſh; and this I moſt ſincerely wiſhed her, at my departure; but, young lovers are not ſo eaſily to be won, in this country.

I had here another proof how profitable a ſpeculation it is in this country to purchaſe woodland, clear the ground, and render it fit for cultivation. Mrs. Daſh bought one hundred acres for two hundred and ſixty-five dollars, twenty of which ſhe has cleared, and ſown with wheat; including the ſpot on which her houſe ſtands, and a ſmall garden. The expence for clearing the land, and building her wooden houſe and a ſtable, amounted in the whole to one thouſand and ſixty-five dollars. Her twenty acres yielded each twenty buſhels of wheat, the price of which, this year, is ten ſhillings per buſhel. She employs no farmer, becauſe ſhe is herſelf on the ſpot; and conſequently the produce of the firſt year's harveſt from twenty acres amount to two hundred

hundred pounds, or five hundred and thirty-three dollars, the moiety of the amount total of her expence, the purchaſe money excluded.*

We paſſed the Saturday and Sunday in Northumberland, and proceeded on Monday to Wilkſbarre.

Monday, the 18th of May.

The road from Northumberland to Berwick, which we had been told was dreadful, we found in a much better condition, than any we have hitherto paſſed. The road is dreary, without the leaſt variety of proſpect, runs conſtantly, or at leaſt generally, through woods, though it lies parallel to the river, upon which, however, a view only opens now and then, and the bed of which, to the ſouthward, is continually hedged in between mountains covered with fir.†

We halted at Mr. MONTGOMERY's, twelve miles from Northumberland. The creek, on which his ſaw-mill is ſituate, is the only one we have hitherto ſeen. The land, which moſtly

* The original ſays, the purchaſe-money *included*, but this is either an error of the preſs, or an overſight of the author.—*Tranſlator.*

† With the exception of two or three large baſins, formed by the river.

ſlopes

ſlopes towards the river, ſeems good. Few or no rocks are to be ſeen. Mr. Montgomery is a ſurveyor; he does not keep an inn, but ſupplies both men and horſes with food and provender for money. From him we learned, that the price of the beſt land in his neighbourhood, on the banks of the river, is from twenty-three to twenty-eight dollars an acre; but that when whole eſtates, for inſtance, four hundred acres of good ſoil, are ſold, the tenth part of which is cleared, the price of land amounts to eight dollars per acre; that land, which lies yet in wood, fetches from two to five dollars per acre; that the price of labour is three ſhillings per day; that it is no eaſy matter to procure labourers, becauſe the number of inhabitants in the neighbourhood is inconſiderable; that the coloniſts conſiſt chiefly of Dutchmen, or their children; and, laſtly, that this diſtrict has ſuffered much from an epidemical diſeaſe, which, two years ago, deſtroyed nearly all the horſes. To judge from the ſymptoms, pointed out by Mr. Montgomery, I never heard of any ſimilar diſtemper in France. By his deſcription, it is a weakneſs, which deſtroys a horſe in the courſe of two months. The liver is blown up by a ſwelling, which extends into the legs, and the whole maſs of blood is entirely diſcoloured.

coloured. This diſtemper is called here the *yellow water*.

The road to Berwick leads, for its whole length, conſtantly through woods, and conſequently affords no proſpect. There are few habitations here, and theſe have a mean appearance. At ſome diſtance from the houſes, we ſaw a few ſtraggling cows and ſheep.

We halted in the diſtrict of Fiſhing Creek, at one ABRAHAM MILLER's, who is a farmer, and keeps an inn and a ſhop. His eſtate conſiſts of three hundred acres, ſeventy of which are cleared. He clears annually about twelve or fifteen acres more, but not without conſiderable trouble, as labourers are very ſcarce in this diſtrict; they are paid three ſhillings and ſixpence per day, and have beſides their board, which is eſtimated at about one ſhilling and ſix pence. Here, as well as in all the other places through which we have hitherto paſſed, three dollars per acre are generally paid for hoeing up the roots of buſhes, on ſuch ground as is deſtined for cultivation; or if day-labourers be employed in this work, they are paid five ſhillings a day, beſides their victuals. This was the firſt place, where we uſed maple ſugar, which we found excellent. Abraham Miller ſells yearly about five or ſix barrels of this

ſugar. He buys it at thirteen pence per pound, and ſells it at fifteen; the brown moiſt ſugar of the colonies he ſells at fourteen pence. He procures all the goods, ſold in his ſhop, from Philadelphia; they are brought in waggons as far as Cataweſſy, where they are ſhipped on the Suſquehannah, and thence conveyed to Fiſhing Creek. The aggregate amount of freight and carriage was, formerly, one dollar per tun, but ſince laſt ſpring it has riſen to one dollar and a half.

The price of land in the neighbourhood is from eight to ten dollars per acre, if in any degree cleared of wood, and from two to three dollars, if ſtill covered with trees. Habitations are ſcarce and ſtraggling, but increaſe in number nearer to Berwick. This is the chief town of the diſtrict: it ſtands on the banks of the river. The ſituation is ſufficiently agreeable, and more open than that of other places, through which we have lately paſſed. This ſmall village conſiſts of twenty miſerable houſes, in which we could not find an egg for our ſupper, but we procured ſome milk. The beds were clean, the ſtabling good, oats and hay excellent; and travellers on horſeback are uſually contented themſelves with ſcanty fare, if their horſes be well provided for.

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The innkeeper and his wife are a young couple, who have but very lately ſettled here. Their houſe is of wood, and only half finiſhed; they poſſeſs, at preſent, eighty acres, ten of which are cleared and cultivated. The price of land at Berwick is twelve dollars, if the ground be already ſomewhat cleared, and from one dollar and a half to two, if the wood be not yet cut down.

The inhabitants of Berwick, as well as of the huts, we ſaw on this day's journey, are a medley of Engliſhmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Flemings, and Scots. Moſt of the coloniſts, who have lately arrived, come from the Jerſeys. They ſeem all poor, and are badly cloathed, yet their ſtrong and healthy appearance ſhews, that they are well fed, and ſoothes the mind, which ſympathizes in their poverty. The number of children is, in proportion to the habitations, very great indeed. Near Ovens we ſaw a ſchool for young girls, which, from the ſmallneſs of the hut, and the number of children who ran out to ſee us paſs, had the appearance of an ant-hill. Two miles below Berwick are thoſe rapid currents, known by the name of Neſcopeck, which greatly impede the navigation of the river, eſpecially at low water.

Tueſday, the 19th of May.

This day proved rather unfortunate to us. We left Berwick at ſix o'clock in the morning, and were unfortunately addreſſed to one 'Squire Beach, who lives ſeven miles from it, and who was to point out to us the the beſt road to Wilkſbarre. Our ill-luck would have it, that this 'Squire Beach is a maker of roads, and had but very lately conſtructed a new one, which is ſome miles ſhorter than the old road. He adviſed us to take the former, which he aſſured us was the beſt. Relying on his aſſurance, we followed his advice, but were on the very outſet at conſiderable pains, to find the place where we were to be ferried acroſs the river, to reach the new road. The ferry-boat, which was rowed by a man turned of ſeventy, was too ſmall to contain our four horſes; we therefore cauſed our baggage to be carried over firſt; and this arrived ſafe on the oppoſite bank. The ſervant was ordered not to wait for us, but to proceed. On the return of the ferry-boat, Mr. Guillemard and I embarked. His mare, who is always very ſpirited, and whoſe mettle was perhaps heightened by the ſight of the other horſes on ſhore, began to ſtir in the ſmall boat, which was rather low

low at the ſides; and in the midſt of our paſſage put one of her hind-legs into the water, which brought her whole hinder part down. The boat heeled to that ſide, was filled with water, and would have been inſtantly overſet, but for Mr. Guillemard's preſence of mind. He puſhed the horſe into the river, and thus ſaved us in the moſt imminent danger of being drowned; a danger to which travellers muſt be frequently expoſed in this country, from the bad conſtruction of the ferry-boats, as well as from the imprudence and unſkilfulneſs of the ferry-men. The mare, Mr. Guillemard holding her faſt by the bridle, ſafely reached the ſhore; and thus far every thing was well. But this incident was the harbinger of accidents ſtill more unpleaſant. We could not diſcover any road; ſome trees, which had been felled, ſhewed an intention, it is true, to make one; but we ſaw even few of theſe. No beaten road was to be found; ten times already we had miſſed our way. We had to travel eighteen miles over felled trees, deep moraſſes, rocks, and looſe ſtones. The girth of the baggage-horſe broke two or three times; Mr. Guillemard's mare, who was badly ſaddled, twice loſt her ſaddle on a ſteep road, and threw her rider. She ran away and ſcattered part of her load; a

brace of piſtols was loſt; our horſes were exhauſted with fatigue; we were tired, faint with hunger, and unable to diſcover any human habitation on the road. A few houſes ſtanding at ſome diſtance from it, which we viſited, could not ſupply our wants; and, to encreaſe our misfortunes, it rained all day long. At length we found ſome oats at an honeſt German's, whoſe wife procured us alſo milk and eggs. Thus refreſhed, we purſued our journey, not without ſeveral new accidents befalling our baggage; and at laſt reached Wilkſbarre. My friend's horſe was lame, the ſaddle was broken to pieces by the accident in the ferry-boat, and our cloaths were torn; but at Dr. Cowell's we found a good fire, a good ſtable, good eggs, ſalt meat (freſh meat is entirely out of the queſtion) and thus, as we ſmoaked our ſegars, indulged the pleaſant thought of having eſcaped all theſe misfortunes.

Wilkſbarre ſtands on a wide and fertile plain. The proſpect, on deſcending the mountains by the creek of Nantikoke, is one of the richeſt, moſt extenſive, and moſt delightful, we have yet ſeen. The land is in a high ſtate of cultivation. We were not able to obtain any new information, that deſerves to be mentioned.

Wilkſbarre

Wilkſbarre is the chief town of the county of Luzerne. It is a ſmall place, containing about a hundred wooden houſes, of a much better appearance than thoſe in Northumberland. The town is ſeated on the Suſquehannah, and muſt in time become conſiderable, if the country, which lies higher up, ſhall be more generally cultivated. It is even now of ſome importance, and has about two hundred and fifty inhabitants. The population of the whole county is eſtimated at five thouſand ſouls.

Wedneſday, the 20th of May.

Mr. Guillemard's mare being lamed by our misfortunes of yeſterday, he reſolved to leave her at Wilkſbarre, under the care of his ſervant. We accordingly ſet out by ourſelves. A new road was propoſed to us, which ſhortens the journey twenty miles, but is untrodden. However, having yeſterday had enough of new roads, we preferred the old, though it was bad, and twenty miles longer. At the end of our firſt day's journey, we reached Huntsferry. The road was bad, and we were ſeveral times obliged to travel in foot-paths, which were hardly paſſable. We frequently met with quarries of millſtone, and with ſpots, where a path, only eight-

een inches in breadth, was cut through the rock, or where the road was ſupported by trunks of trees, narrowed by falls of earth, obſtructed by fallen trees, and led along the edges of a precipice. We often paſſed over declivities, rendered more dangerous by the ground being ſtrewed with looſe ſtones, or fragments of rock. Fortunately it ſo happened, that we never got more than a few yards out of our road; but we were obliged to enquire the way of every one we met, to avoid more conſiderable deviation. The dwelling-houſes in this diſtrict are moſt of them ſo new, that the inhabitants are often ignorant of the names of places, which are ſcarce two miles diſtant; nor are they able to point out the direction and diſtance, ſo that their information beyond the next farm-houſe is not to be depended upon. There is not one inn on the whole road, but ſome private individuals are in the habit of ſelling oats to travellers. They live at certain diſtances, and, being known, travellers conſtantly put up at their houſes. The firſt day we halted at the houſe of one HARRIS, twelve miles from Wilkſbarre, and afterwards at HARDING'S, fifteen miles farther on. Both are farmers; the former, a captain of the militia, is richer, and has been eſtabliſhed much longer than

than the latter. They are both very bad husbandmen; they cultivate nothing but Indian corn and potatoes, in a soil, which is, for the most part, poor, and, with few exceptions, produces nothing but spruce fir and the common birch. All the cultivated fields are inclosed with fences, which consist of poles of wood, once split, and and laid zig-zag upon one another without any stakes; a manner of fencing, general in all parts of America, at the first clearing of the ground. The expence of clearing ground amounts, in this district, to seven or eight dollars an acre.

Five miles beyond Harding's habitation, we crossed the river in a very bad ferry-boat, and arrived at HUNT's, an Irishman, who settled here ten years ago. We found in his house Indian corn for our horses, but neither oats nor hay, and no milk for ourselves, nor even an egg. The house consists of one room on the ground-floor, and of a corn-loft over it. Beds were not to be had. Hunt took an old paillasse from his own bed, and lent it me for the night; and on this, with my saddle-cloth, I rested comfortably. By Hunt's account, the spot, which he inhabits, is very unwholesome; and so, he says, are the banks of the river in general for some way,

way, higher up, or lower down. His young and handſome wife has laboured under a hectic fever, for theſe eight months.

Thurſday, the 21ſt of May.

In the morning we halted at one Mr. GAYLOR'S, eleven miles from our laſt night's quarters. All the dwelling-houſes are of the ſame ſort. We purſued our journey to Aſylum by Wyaluſing. The latter is a conſiderable village, ſeated on a creek, from which it takes its name. The road is the ſame as yeſterday, at times even and good, often recently cut through the wood, or interrupted by new ſettlements, the fences of which occaſion a circuit of near a furlong, at the end of which it is difficult to find the road again.

Nearly all the plantations, which we have hitherto traverſed in this diſtrict, have been more or leſs recently formed by families, who derive their titles from Connecticut. The right of property claimed by that ſtate, in regard to theſe lands, has been declared to be unfounded, firſt by arbitrators in Trenton, three or four years ago, and ſince that by the judges of aſſize, who hold their ſittings in Philadelphia. The laſt ſentence has excited general diſcontent in theſe parts;

parts; and, in truth, ſhould it be confirmed by the ſupreme court of juſtice, the natural conſequence muſt be a general diſpoſſeſſing of all the cultivators, who have ſettled here by right of purchaſe, or gift from the ſtate of Connecticut, and who have ſpent ſeveral years labour on a ſoil, on which they eſtabliſhed themſelves in the moſt legal form. Several of theſe ſettlers were, during the laſt war, driven from their poſſeſſions by the Indians, who deſtroyed all the buildings, and burnt the woods, as far as they were able, on their retreat. Theſe are indeed ſufficient reaſons for diſcontent; and the ſtate of Pennſylvania, ſatisfied with being reinſtated in its right to theſe lands, will undoubtedly leave them in the poſſeſſion of thoſe families, who, *bona fide*, obtained them either for money, or by their labour. If Pennſylvania had ſold the ſame lands, the ſupreme court of judicature would doubtleſs award an indemnification in money. But in the United States, whoſe conſtitution is, and muſt be founded on the rights of man, and modelled by juſtice, peaceful and induſtrious inhabitants will never be driven from their poſſeſſions, or expelled from their homes. The ſoldiers, ordered to carry ſuch a ſentence into execution, would be too deeply affected; their

their own feelings would contradict the oath of allegiance they have taken, and humanity would forbid them, to co-operate in the execution of the law. The ſtate of Pennſylvania is too wiſe, and too juſt, not to embrace, in theſe circumſtances, a reſolution, which is dictated by the very principles it profeſſes.

The inhabitants, who derive their titles from Connecticut, form, we were told, two diſtinct claſſes, whoſe rights are of a widely different complexion. One claſs ſettled here long before any public diſcuſſion of the claims of the two ſtates took place; and moſt of theſe had to rebuild their houſes, which, as has already been mentioned, were deſtroyed during the war. The other claſs formed their ſettlements after the above award, ſolicited by both ſtates, had been iſſued, and therefore were not, or, at leaſt, ſhould not have been ignorant of the hazard, to which they expoſed themſelves. Several perſons in Connecticut have proceeded in this buſineſs in a manner extremely blameable, eſpecially one Colonel FRANKLIN, who, two years ago, decoyed ſeveral families into this country, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, and of all the friends of order, who diſcouraged theſe unfair proceedings, and

foretold

foretold to the new ſettlers, that they would ſoon be diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates. Moſt of the families lately arrived here are poor. They obtained the land *gratis*, and are the leſs diſturbed in their preſent momentary enjoyments, by apprehenſions of ſome future diſpoſſeſſion, as the character of many among them is not of the faireſt complexion. The colonel acted on the principle, that an increaſe of the number of coloniſts would increaſe the force of reſiſtance againſt the ſentence of a judicial diſpoſſeſſion, in which, being himſelf a proprietor, he is perſonally concerned. This difference, in point of the period of poſſeſſion, and of the ſpecies of property, renders it far more eaſy to accommodate matters, than it might otherwiſe have proved; ſince the difference being ſettled with the landholders of the former claſs, the execution of any vigorous meaſure, which it may be neceſſary to adopt againſt thoſe of the latter, will be greatly facilitated.

Aſylum ſtands on the right bank of the Suſquehannah, which muſt be croſſed, in order to reach this ſettlement. It has been only fifteen years eſtabliſhed. Meſſrs. TALON and De NOAILLES, who arrived here from England, richer in hopes than in caſh, fancied they ſhould be able

to

to purchaſe, cultivate, and people two hundred thouſand acres of land. They intereſted in their project ſome planters of St. Domingo, who eſcaped from the ruins of that colony, and who had prudence enough carefully to preſerve the remains of their fortune. Meſſrs. Morris and Nicholſon, who poſſeſs immenſe tracks of land in the United States, were willing and ready to meet their views. Lands were choſen on the northern banks of the Suſquehannah; the price and inſtalments were regulated, and the firſt trees felled * on the ſpot, which was ſelected for the town. Mr. de Noailles took upon himſelf the management of the concerns of the company in Philadelphia. Mr. Talon cauſed the firſt log-houſes to be erected here, and the land to be prepared for the reception of the new inhabitants. But they ſoon diſcovered, that they ſhould be diſappointed of all the money, which they had hoped to receive. Meſſrs. Morris and Nicholſon readily releaſed them from this firſt difficulty, and the contract was reſcinded. From excluſive proprietors of theſe lands, the above gentlemen became aſſociates and partners in trade with Meſſrs. Morris and Nicholſon, in all the profits ariſing from their ſale, and the quantity

* In December, 1793.

was

was enlarged to a million of acres. Each of them kept about ſix thouſand acres, as his private property, the price of which was ſomewhat raiſed; but more diſtant periods of payment were fixed. Mr. Talon was appointed agent for the company, with a ſalary of three thouſand dollars. The buildings, as well as all other expences, were, with the conſent of Meſſrs. Morris and Nicholſon, placed to the account of the company. The uſe of the moſt conſiderable houſe, built by Mr. Talon, was aſſigned to himſelf as agent. Ignorance of the language of the country, want of practice in buſineſs of this kind, avocations of a different nature, and the embarraſſments of the company, have deprived Mr. Talon of the moſt exquiſite happineſs, an emigrated Frenchman can poſſibly enjoy, to open a peaceful and comfortable aſylum for his unfortunate countrymen, to aſſiſt them in the firſt moments of their ſettlement, and thus to become the founder of a colony, which would have proved as honourable to the name of a Frenchman, as uſeful to the unfortunate ſufferers, whom it would have received. An enormous expence, partly incurred without a mature conſideration of the plan, occaſioned deficiencies. The company was not able to fulfil its

engagements.

engagements. The exertions of Mr. Talon and his aſſociates were not equal to the removal of theſe difficulties; and it becoming evident, that the colony could not attain proſperity ſo quickly as Mr. Talon had expected, he reſigned his ſituation as agent to Mr. Nicholſon, and ſold him his ſhare in the property of the company, who, having ſix months before bought that of Mr. de Noailles alſo, is now become ſole proprietor of the land.

This is a brief ſketch of the hiſtory of Aſylum. There cannot remain a doubt, but that this eſtabliſhment, the plan of which is certainly the work of much deliberation, would have proved more ſucceſsful, had it been formed by degrees, and with a ſufficient ſupply of ready money. For notwithſtanding the errors committed in the execution of the plan, and the adverſe incidents it has met with, Aſylum has already attained an uncommon degree of perfection, conſidering its infant ſtate. Thirty houſes, built in this town, are inhabited by families from St. Domingo, and from France, by French artizans, and even by Americans. Some inns and two ſhops have been eſtabliſhed, the buſineſs of which is conſiderable. Several town-ſhares have been put into very good condition; and

and the fields and gardens begin to be productive. A conſiderable quantity of ground has been cleared, on the creek Loyalſock; where the company has allotted twenty-five thouſand acres of land, in part of a hundred thouſand acres, which the inhabitants of Aſylum have purchaſed by ſubſcription. Similar agricultural operations, which take place in almoſt every town-ſhare, are intended to enliven, at once, all the different parts of this large tract of ground. The town-ſhares conſiſt each of four hundred acres, from ten to twenty of which are cleared. The owner can therefore either ſettle there himſelf, at the end of the year, or entruſt it to a farmer. The clearing of the town-ſhares is, at preſent, effected by ſubſcription, on this principle; that for every acre belonging to a ſubſcriber, who has cleared ten acres, five of which only are encloſed with fences, nine dollars are paid.

Mr. de MONTULÉ, one of the inhabitants of Aſylum, directs this clearing of the ground; the plan of which he conceived for the welfare of the colony. The ſentiments of the coloniſts are good. Every one follows his buſineſs, the cultivator as well as the inn-keeper and tradeſman, with as much zeal and exertion, as if he had been brought up to it. The ſoil is tolerably

good, the climate healthful. Almoſt all the ingredients of a thriving colony concur in Aſylum, and afford room to hope, that theſe great natural advantages will, in time, be improved, for the benefit and proſperity of the coloniſts. A new trading company has ſuperſeded the former; at leaſt the firm and management of the company's concerns have been altered. Mr. Robert Morris has entirely left it, and Mr. Nicholſon, being now the only proprietor, has formed a bank of his million of acres, divided into five thouſand ſhares, containing each two hundred acres, the price of which, at two dollars and half per acre, is five hundred dollars. They bear ſix per cent intereſt, which increaſes in proportion to the ſtate of the land; and at the expiration of fifteen years, the period at which the company is to be diſſolved, all the benefits and advantages accruing to the bank are to be divided among the holders of ſhares. An office has been eſtabliſhed by the latter, for the direction and management of the concerns of the bank.

This new company, taught by the errors of the former, will no doubt make it their principal buſineſs, to promote the proſperity of Aſylum; which, alone, can, in any conſiderable manner,

manner, increaſe the value of the land. Yet ſome previous ſacrifices will alſo be required for that purpoſe. It will be neceſſary to conſtruct new roads, and repair the old ones. Encouragement muſt alſo be given to the families, which already inhabit Aſylum; and advantageous offers muſt be held out to ſuch, as may be diſpoſed to ſettle there. If theſe things be done, Aſylum will ſoon be peopled. Motives ariſing from French manners and opinions have hitherto prevented even French families from ſettling here. Theſe are now, however, in great meaſure removed, and if the company ſhall proceed with judgment and prudence, as it is to be hoped they will, there can hardly remain a doubt, but that Aſylum will ſpeedily become a place of importance. Its ſituation on the Suſquehannah, two hundred miles from its ſource, fits it in a peculiar manner for an emporium of the inland trade. French activity, ſupported with money, will certainly accelerate its growth; and this will doubtleſs in time convince the world, that the enterpriſe and aſſiduity of Frenchmen are equally conſpicuous in proſperous and adverſe circumſtances.

The following families have either already ſettled, or intend to ſettle, at Aſylum, viz. 1.

Mr. de BLACONS, deputy for Dauphiné, in the conſtituent aſſembly. Since his quitting France, he has married Mademoiſelle de MAULDE, late canoneſs of the chapter of Bonbourg. They keep a haberdaſher's ſhop. Their partner is Mr. COLIN, formerly Abbé de Sevigny, arch-deacon of Tours, and *conſeiller au grand conſeil.* 2. Mr. de MONTULÉ, late captain of a troop of horſe, married to a lady of St. Domingo, who reſides at preſent at Pottſgrove. 3. Madame de SYBERT, couſin to Mr. de Montulé, and relict of a rich planter of St. Domingo. 4. Mr. BECDELIERRE, formerly a canon, now a ſhopkeeper; his partners are the two Meſſrs. de la Roue, one of whom was formerly a *petit gens-d'arme*, and the other a captain of infantry. The latter has married a ſiſter of Madame SYBERT, Mademoiſelle de BERCY, who intends to eſtabliſh an inn on the road from Aſylum to Loyalſock, eight miles from the former place, whither ſhe is on the point of removing with her huſband. 6. Mr. BEAULIEU, formerly a captain of infantry in the French ſervice, who ſerved in America, during the laſt war, in the legion of Potoſky. He has remained ever ſince in this country, has married an Engliſh lady, and now keeps an inn.

7. Mr.

7. Mr. BUZARD, a planter of St. Domingo, and phyſician in that colony, who has ſettled at Aſylum with his wife, daughter, and ſon, and ſome negroes, the remains of his fortune. 8. Mr. de NOAILLES, a planter of St. Domingo. 9. Mr. DANDELOT, of Franchecomté, late an officer of infantry, who left France on account of the revolution, and arrived here deſtitute of property, but was kindly received by Mr. Talon, and is now engaged in agricultural purſuits with ſpirit and ſucceſs. 10. Mr. DUPETITTHOUARS, an officer of the navy, who, encouraged by the conſtituent aſſembly, and aſſiſted by a ſubſcription, embarked in an expedition in queſt of Mr. de la Pérouſe. He was detained on the coaſt of Braſil by the governor of the colony, Fernando de Noriguez, and ſent with his crew to Portugal, where he was very ill treated by the Portugueſe government, ſtripped of all his property, and only eſcaped farther perſecution by fleeing to America, where he lives free and happy, without property, yet without want. He is employed in clearing about two or three hundred acres of land, which have been preſented to him. His ſociable, mild, yet truly original temper and character, are ſet off by a noble ſimpli-

city of manners *. 11. Mr. NORES, a young gentleman, who embarked with Mr. Dupetit-thouars, and eſcaped with him to this country. He formerly wore the *petit collet* †, was a pupil of Mr. de la Chapelle, poſſeſſor of a ſmall priory, and now earns his ſubſiſtence by cultivating the ground. 12. Mr. KEATING, an Iriſhman, and late captain of the regiment of Welſh. At the beginning of the revolution he was in St. Domingo, where he poſſeſſed the confidence of all parties, but refuſed the moſt tempting offers of the commiſſioners of the aſſembly, though his ſentiments were truly democratic. It was his choice and determination, to retire to America without a ſhilling in his pocket, rather than to acquire power and opulence in St. Domingo by violating his firſt oath. He is a man of uncommon merit, diſtinguiſhed abilities, extraordinary virtue, and invincible diſintereſtedneſs. His deportment is grave, yet affable. His advice and prudence have proved extremely ſerviceable to Mr. Talon in every department of

* Dupetitthouars returned afterwards to France, obtained the command of a ſhip of the line, and was killed in the unfortunate battle off the mouth of the Nile.—*Tranſl.*

† The *petit collet* (little band) was formerly a diſtinguiſhing mark of the ſecular clergy in France.—*Tranſl.*

his

his buſineſs. It was he who negociated the late arrangements between Meſſrs. Morris and Nicholſon ; and it may be juſtly ſaid, that the confidence, which his uncommon abilities and virtue inſpire, enables him to adjuſt matters of diſpute with much greater facility than moſt other perſons. 13. Mr. RENAUD and family. He is a rich merchant of St. Domingo, who has juſt arrived with very conſiderable property, preſerved from the wreck of an immenſe fortune. 14. Mr. CARLES, a prieſt and canon of Guernſey, who retired to America with a ſmall fortune, and who has now ſettled at Aſylum ; he is an induſtrious and much-reſpected farmer. 15. Mr. PREVOST, a citizen of Paris, celebrated there for his benevolence ; he was a member of all benevolent ſocieties, treaſurer of the philanthropic ſociety, and retired to America with ſome property, a conſiderable part of which he expended on a ſettlement, which he attempted to eſtabliſh on the banks of the Suſquehannah, but which did not eventually ſucceed. He now cultivates his lot of ground on the Loyalſock, as if his whole life had been devoted to the ſame purſuit ; and the cheerful ſerenity of a gentle, candid, philoſophical mind, ſtill attends him in his laborious retreat. His wife and ſiſter-in-

law, who have alſo ſettled here, ſhare in his tranquillity and his happineſs. 16. Madame d'AUTREMONT, with her three children. She is the widow of a ſteward at Paris. Two of her ſons are grown up: one was a notary, and the other a watch-maker; but they have now become hewers of wood, and tillers of the ground, and ſecure by their zeal, ſpirit, politeneſs, and unblemiſhed character, the ſympathy and reſpect of every feeling mind.

Some families of artiſans are alſo eſtabliſhed at Aſylum; and ſuch as conduct themſelves properly earn great wages. This cannot be ſaid of the greateſt part of them. They are, in general, very indifferent workmen, and much addicted to drunkenneſs. In time they will be ſuperſeded by more valuable men; and American families, of a better deſcription, will ſettle here: for thoſe, who reſide at preſent at Aſylum, are ſcarcely worth keeping.

One of the greateſt impediments to the proſperity of this ſettlement will probably ariſe from the prejudices of ſome Frenchmen againſt the Americans, unleſs ſelf-intereſt and reaſon ſhould prove the means of removing them. Theſe are frequently manifeſted with that inconſiderate levity, with which Frenchmen, in general, de-

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cide on things and perſons of the greateſt moment; ſome of them vauntingly declare, that they will never learn the language of the country, or enter into converſation with an American. Whether particular facts and occurrences can juſtify this prejudice, in regard to *individuals*, I will not affirm; but certain it is, that they can never juſtify it in the latitude of a *general opinion*. A conduct founded on ſuch prejudices would prove extremely hurtful to the intereſts of the colony; the progreſs of which has been already retarded by ſo many unavoidable obſtacles, that there certainly is no occaſion to create new ones, by purpoſely exciting the animoſity of a people, among whom the colony has been formed, and who, in the judgment of every impartial man, muſt be conſidered as in a ſtate of leſs degeneracy than many European nations.

The real farmers, who reſide at Aſylum, live, upon the whole, on very good terms with each other; being duly ſenſible, that harmony is requiſite, to render their ſituation comfortable and happy. They poſſeſs no conſiderable property, and their way of life is ſimple. Mr. Talon lives in a manner ſomewhat more ſplendid, as he is obliged to maintain a number of perſons, to whom his aſſiſtance was indiſpenſable.

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It is to be wiſhed and hoped, that the whole ſettlement may prove ultimately ſucceſsful. A more convenient ſpot might, doubtleſs, have been choſen. But not to mention, that all *ex poſt facto* judgments are unfair, the preſent ſituation of the colony appears ſo advantageous, as to warrant the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. Induſtrious families, however, without whom no ſettlement can proſper, muſt be invited to it; for it muſt be conſidered, that, however poliſhed its preſent inhabitants may be, the gentleman cannot ſo eaſily diſpenſe with the aſſiſtance of the artiſt and the huſbandman, as theſe can with that of the gentleman.

A ſpeedy adjuſtment of the preſent differences between Connecticut and Pennſylvania, with reſpect to the eſtates contiguous to the lands of Aſylum, would alſo prove a deſirable and fortunate circumſtance for this colony. None but perſons of indifferent character are willing to ſettle on ground, the title to which remains a matter of diſpute. Even the ſmall number of coloniſts we found between Wilkſbarre and Tioga are by no means praiſeworthy in their morals; and they are poor, lazy, drunken, quarrelſome, and extremely negligent in the culture of their lands. The valuable emigrants from New-

New-England, from the eaſtern branch of the Suſquehannah, who ſhould be encouraged to ſettle here, will certainly not make their appearance, till they can be ſure of cultivating their land without oppoſition, and of retaining the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their eſtates. It is therefore of the greateſt importance to the company of Aſylum, that this weighty buſineſs ſhould be ſpeedily and finally adjuſted. When that is accompliſhed, the company will doubtleſs embrace the earlieſt opportunity of advertiſing the whole million of acres; they will endeavour to combine ſeparate eſtates with each other, by purchaſing the intervening lands; they will make public their right of property, purſue a well concerted general plan, execute it with the requiſite care and diſpatch, and make the neceſſary ſacrifices. They will perceive how advantageous and important it is, to place Aſylum, as it were, in full activity, by conſtructing the roads already projected and commenced, by eſtabliſhing a ſchool, by inviting induſtrious ſettlers, and by endeavouring to meliorate the breeds of horſes and cattle: in ſhort, by encouraging uſeful eſtabliſhments of every kind. A few hundreds of dollars, laid out here properly, would produce the moſt conſiderable and

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laſting improvements. In ſuch caſes, however, it is requiſite to calculate well, that we may expend judiciouſly. By prudent and liberal meaſures, the proſperity of this French colony, and conſequently of the company, would be eſſentially inſured and promoted. And when this ſettlement ſhall have once ripened into a flouriſhing ſtate, it will ſerve to connect the country, which is already cultivated along the banks of the river, above and below Aſylum, and thus prove a ſource of animation to this intereſting part of Pennſylvania. But unleſs active and judicious meaſures be purſued, Aſylum will inevitably ſuffer from the partial inconveniences, which attend its ſituation, and from the errors committed in the firſt formation of this colony; and inſtead of attaining to the wiſhed for proſperity, it muſt, on the contrary, find its decline, if not downfal, in the very nature of its eſtabliſhment.

Every thing in this ſettlement, at preſent, appears in a precarious condition. The price of proviſion depends on a variety of fluctuating circumſtances. By the activity and prudence of certain individuals the town is abundantly ſupplied with grain and meat, and this honeſt economy keeps proviſion at a moderate price. But

men

men of a leſs liberal way of thinking have it alſo in their power to occaſion ſcarcity of the firſt neceſſaries of life, and raiſe their price to a rate beyond all proportion to that of other commodities. The information, which I have been able to collect, relative to the ſtate of agriculture, however accurate at the preſent moment, can hardly be thought ſufficient for the direction of a planter, who ſhould incline to ſettle here; I ſhall, however, lay it before my readers, ſuch as it is.

The land behind the town is tolerably good; but that on the banks of the river conſiſts of excellent meadows, laid out by families, who ſettled here, before the preſent coloniſts, producing very good hay, pretty conſiderable in quantity, and they are capable of ſtill farther improvement. The ſoil of Loyalſock is, in general, excellent. Many trees grow there, which evince its goodneſs, ſuch as, the white Virginian walnut-tree, white oak, plane-tree, ſugar-maple and hemlock-fir. It is a circumſtance worthy of notice, that half-way between Loyalſock and Aſylum, common oak, which in the fields about the latter place is found in abundance, becomes at once ſo ſcarce, that not two hundred oak trees grow in the whole diſtrict of

Loyalſock,

Loyalſock, which contains two thouſand five hundred acres. The price of the company's land is at preſent two dollars and half per acre; very little however is ſold. That of the town of Aſylum fetches little more; although there is little doubt, that the price will riſe gradually to ten dollars. The land contiguous to Aſylum, which does not belong to the company, being at preſent in an unſettled ſtate with reſpect to the right of property, this circumſtance renders it a very undeſirable poſſeſſion for ſuch ſettlers, as do not wiſh to expoſe themſelves to the danger of ſubſequent litigations, and conſequently to being diſpoſſeſſed of their purchaſes. Hitherto the grain appears to have ſuffered but little from the Heſſian fly and from blights. The winter laſts here from four months and half to five months. Agriculture however has hitherto advanced ſo ſlowly, that the cattle ſuffer much during that ſeaſon from want of fodder. They are, for the moſt part, fed with turnips, gourds, and ſtraw of Indian corn. Both oxen and cows are of a very indifferent ſort, as little attention has been paid to the breed of cattle brought hither by the ſettlers. Both ſeed-time and harveſt take place here about a fortnight later than in the vicinity of Philadelphia. The land yields

about

about fifteen or twenty buſhels of wheat, ſixty buſhels of Indian corn, and three tuns of hay per acre. The ſoil ſeems naturally better adapted for meadows than for corn land; but from the little trouble attending the driving of the cattle into the foreſt, the produce in corn is rather apparently great than ſo in fact. In ploughing they generally employ oxen, which, it ſhould be obſerved, are not ſubject to any particular diſeaſe. They are at times driven to Philadelphia; and the country people frequently act here with ſo little judgment, as even to ſend them two hundred miles off, when they might obtain much better prices, and even ready money, in the neighbourhood. The bullocks, which are conſumed in Aſylum, are generally brought from the back ſettlements, but it is frequently found neceſſary, to ſend thither for them. They are generally plentiful: the uncommon duration of the laſt winter, however, proved ſo deſtructive to the cattle, that few are now to be ſeen, and a great ſcarcity of beef prevails at Aſylum, as well as in various other parts of America.

The grain, which is not conſumed in Aſylum, finds a market in Wilkſbarre, and is tranſported thither on the river. In the ſame manner

ner all kinds of merchandize are conveyed from Philadelphia to Aſylum. They are carried in waggons as far as Harriſburg, and thence ſent in barges up the river. The freight amounts, in the whole, to two dollars per cwt. The ſalt comes from the ſalt-houſes at Geneſſee, on the lake of Ontario. Flax is produced in the country about Aſylum; and the ſoil is very fit for producing crops of that commodity. Maple-ſugar is made here in great abundance. Each tree is computed to yield, upon an average, from two pounds and half to three a year. Melaſſes and vinegar are alſo prepared here. I have ſeen Meſſrs. De VILAINE and DANDELOT make ſugar in this place, which much ſurpaſſes any of the ſame kind, that has hitherto come under my obſervation. A conſiderable quantity of tar is alſo made, and ſold for four dollars per barrel, containing thirty-two gallons. Day-labourers are paid at the rate of five ſhillings a day. Mr. de Montulé employs workmen from the eaſtern branch of the river, to clear his land; to theſe he pays half a dollar a day, beſides allowing them their victuals; the overſeer receives a dollar and a third per day; theſe people turn out to be very good workmen. They are eaſily procured, when employment is en-

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ſured to them for any length of time; but otherwiſe, it is very difficult to obtain them. The manufacture of potaſhes has alſo been commenced at Aſylum; and it is in contemplation to attempt the brewing of malt-liquor. A corn-mill and a ſaw-mill are building on the Loyal-ſock.

The foregoing is a brief ſketch of the preſent ſtate of this intereſting ſettlement, which, even a twelvemonth hence, will no longer retain its preſent features. To judge from the actual condition of the probable progreſs and duration of this infant colony, it muſt either riſe or fall rapidly. It is to be hoped, that the want of ſimilarity to the original in my deſcription, which may be obſervable next year in the colony, will ariſe from its rapid progreſs towards maturity; and this hope is grounded on probable appearances.

Tueſday, the 2d of June.

On our arrival at Aſylum, it was not our intention to have ſtopped more than four days in that place. But the pleaſure of meeting with Mr. and Madame de Blacons, a deſire to obtain a thorough knowledge of the preſent ſtate of the colony, as well as of its proſpects of future

improvement; and the cordial reception we experienced from all its inhabitants, induced us to add four days to our ſtay; and, in the whole, we ſtopped twelve days. On Tueſday, the 2d of June, we at length took our departure. Meſſrs. De Blacons and Dupetitthouars joined our caravan; the latter, who travelled on foot, had ſet out the preceding evening. The road from Aſylum to Tioga leads, like the reſt, through continued woods. We preferred that on the right bank; as we ſhould then be obliged to croſs the river only once. The road is in ſome places exceſſively miry and ſtony, although in others it is very good. On the whole it may be called tolerable, yet it is often difficult to be found. It affords but few ſtriking proſpects. The Suſquehannah, which we met with but once, during our whole journey, flows conſtantly between two chains of mountains, which ſeem to encroach upon its channel, but from time to time open into vallies more or leſs deep, but never very extenſive.

We ſtopped at Solomon Teasy's, to reſt our horſes. This planter occupies an eſtate of five hundred acres, only thirty of which are yet cleared, and which belongs to the village of Old Sheſhequen. Its owner arrived here about

five

five years ago, from the county of Orange, in the ſtate of New York; but he now intends to ſettle in Geneſſee; and, conſequently, wiſhes to diſpoſe of his plantation, which he holds from the ſtate of Connecticut; the price he demands is five thouſand three hundred and ninety dollars, that is to ſay, about ten dollars and three-fourths per acre. Another landholder, at whoſe houſe we ſtopped to procure directions about the road, intimated to us a ſimilar deſign, as he miſtook us for land-jobbers. His plantation conſiſted of three hundred acres, ſixty of which were cleared, with a corn and a ſaw-mill; which he eſtimated at one thouſand three hundred dollars. He aſked for the whole eſtate two thouſand ſix hundred dollars, which is tantamount to eight dollars and half per acre. The ſtate of agriculture is no better here than in the other parts of Pennſylvania, and even worſe than in many of them, all the plantations being yet in that infant ſtate, where the ſoil yields rich crops without cultivation. The ſettlers too are doubtful whether their rights to their poſſeſſions will be confirmed, have much buſineſs upon their hands, and are in general little able to advance money for the improvement of their lands, ſo that they hardly give themſelves

the trouble even to plough up the ground. For this purpoſe they make uſe of oxen, the medium price of a yoke of which is ſeventy dollars. Wheat commonly ſells for one dollar a buſhel, rye for four ſhillings, and oats from two ſhillings and ſix-pence to three ſhillings. There are two ſchools in the neighbouring country, which are both kept by women, who teach needle-work and reading. To learn to read is, therefore, the only inſtruction, which boys can obtain here. Theſe ſchools are maintained ſolely by the fee of five ſhillings a quarter paid by each ſcholar. They are evidently inſufficient, yet they are ſchools; and theſe are yet very rare in Pennſylvania.

No place has been hitherto ſet apart here for religious worſhip. They, who deſire to perform this, aſſemble in private houſes, and engage a preacher for a yearly ſalary, which, however, is very ſmall. Families of methodiſts conſtitute the principal part of the inhabitants.

On the other ſide of the river ſtands New Sheſhequen, a ſmall neat town, containing about twelve houſes, which are built either of rough logs or boards. It is ſeated in a very pleaſant plain. The juſtice of the peace, the ſurgeon, and the paſtor of the neighbouring country, reſide

ſide in this place. It contains ſhops, in ſhort all thoſe things which are found only in a principal town.

The road from Old Sheſhequen to Tioga, which had been repreſented to us as a very bad one, proved, on the contrary, very good. Here the farm-houſes lie cloſer to each other. Near Tioga, the river of the ſame name diſcharges itſelf into the Suſquehannah. The ſite of the town, or rather of the eight or ten houſes which are ſo called, is about two miles diſtant from the confluence of the two rivers, and very pleaſant. The mountains, which form the banks of the Suſquehannah, do not lie ſo cloſe together, as in any other part of its courſe that we have yet ſeen. The country behind Tioga deſcends into a plain of upwards of three miles in extent. The ſoil is good; and, from the ſituation of the town, it is likely to acquire ſome importance in time, when the land on both ſides of the river ſhall become cultivated and populous. There is not one ſpring, however, to be found either on the ſpot where the town ſtands, or in its vicinity, ſo that the inhabitants are obliged either to ſink wells, or to fetch water from the river; and, in either caſe, the water is far from being good. The price of land, in the neighbourhood

of the town, is eight dollars per acre, when, out of three hundred acres, to the proportion of fifty or ſixty are already cleared of wood. The town-ſhares are ſixteen yards in breadth by fifty in depth, and coſt twenty dollars. The price of wheat is ſeven ſhillings and ſix-pence per buſhel, rye ſells for ſix ſhillings a buſhel, and oats from three to four ſhillings. Some veniſon excepted, which at times comes to market, no freſh meat has been ſeen at Tioga ſince laſt autumn. The merchants of the place carry on an inconſiderable trade in hemp, which they get from the upper parts of the river, and ſend to Philadelphia by Middle Town. We were informed, that the ſhops at Aſylum prove very hurtful to the trade of Tioga, a complaint which gave our fellow-traveller, who keeps a ſhop in Aſylum, no ſmall ſatisfaction.

Laſt year there were three inns in Tioga, but, at this time, it contains but one; we found it crowded with travellers from the Jerſeys, Pennſylvania, and New York, who intended to ſettle on the lakes. After a ſcanty ſupper, we were all obliged to take up with two beds; more were not to be obtained on any terms. The ſheets, which had already ſerved three or four other travellers, were, according to the land-

landlady's account, very clean; and ſo indeed they are called, in all the American inns, when they are in fact totally unfit for uſe. Yet, on the other hand, we enjoyed the ſpecial favour of being permitted to lie down in boots, as thoſe of our party really did, who, like myſelf, preferred taking their repoſe on the ground, wrapped up in a blanket.

Wedneſday, the 3d of June.

Our company conſiſted, as I have already mentioned, of four perſons, one of whom (Mr. Dupetitthouars) travelled on foot, but whom we had promiſed to relieve occaſionally by walking in rotation part of the way.

Near Tioga we turned from the river Suſquehannah, along the banks of which we had travelled near two hundred and fifty miles, and yet the ſource of that branch which we quitted is diſtant two hundred miles ſtill farther inland; it riſes near the Mohawk's river. The Suſquehannah, throughout its courſe, ſerves to open up an extenſive country of rich fertile ſoil, and which is likely to acquire an increaſing importance from its navigation, that extends as far as to the Cheſapeak. It is an unfavourable circumſtance, however, that its courſe is ſo fre-

quently broken by rapids, which, even at high water, cannot be paſſed without danger by ſmall veſſels. It is in ſuch ſmall veſſels, or on rafts, conſtructed of trunks of trees covered with boards, that cargoes of proviſion, &c., are at preſent tranſported. Theſe rafts, which draw but little water in proportion to the breadth and extent of their ſurface, are moſtly laden with proviſion for the lower country. The navigation of theſe rafts and veſſels is ſometimes impeded by obſtacles inſurmountable; they are many times ſhattered from being daſhed on the banks or ſhallows, and often beaten entirely to pieces. The number of men, and eſpecially of veſſels, thus wrecked and loſt, is very conſiderable.

At the diſtance of four miles from Tioga, the ſtate of Pennſylvania borders upon New York, and here begins a new ſtandard of coinage. A dollar, which in Pennſylvania is worth only ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence, is here, with greater convenience and propriety, divided into eight ſhillings.

Near the confines of Pennſylvania a mountain riſes from the bank of the river Tioga, in the ſhape of a ſugar-loaf, upon which are ſeen the remains of ſome entrenchments; theſe the inhabitants

inhabitants call the *Spaniſh rampart*, but I rather judge them to have been thrown up againſt the Indians in the times of Mr. de Nouville. One perpendicular breaſt-work is yet remaining, which, though covered over with graſs and buſhes, plainly indicates, that a parapet and a ditch have been conſtructed here.

We ſtopped to breakfaſt about ten miles from Tioga, at the houſe of one Mr. WARREN, a landholder, who ſettled here four years ago. His eſtate along the river conſiſts of three hundred and ſeventy acres of land, fifty of which only are cleared; the reſt are ſtony, hilly, and poor. The price of wheat is one dollar, oats three ſhillings and ſix-pence, and rye five ſhillings per buſhel. The cultivated land lies moſtly in graſs. Theſe meadows, which are ſown with timothy-graſs, and white clover, are uſed as ſuch for three or four years. They are then broken up, ſown with wheat, and uſed again as graſs land. Mr. Warren, it ſeems, never ſows oats among the clover. His ſtock appeared to be in very good order; the ſheep were tolerably good; at the ſhearing time the wool weighs from four to five pounds a fleece; its medium price is four ſhillings per pound. This planter, only three years ago, paid nine hundred

dollars

dollars for this eſtate, and he now aſks two thouſand five hundred dollars for it.

There is no ſchool kept in the neighbouring country, except in the winter months, when every ſcholar pays a dollar per quarter.

The road from Tioga to Painted Poſt lies for the moſt part along the bank of the river Tioga, which is here about as broad as the mouth of the Oiſe. Its water is very clear. The ſtream is rapid, and the country in general, through which it flows, is more open and pleaſant than that watered by the Suſquehannah.

We dined at New Town, which has not been built more than ſeven years, and is ſituate on the banks of the Tioga. Before the building of this town the Indians were in poſſeſſion of the territory. This place is, at preſent, the chief town of the county of Tioga. The diſtrict of New Town contains twenty thouſand acres of land, ſold originally for eighteen pence the acre, which now ſells for five or ſix dollars, and in ſome places from twenty-four to twenty-ſix dollars. The ſoil near the river is remarkably good. The plain in which New Town ſtands is large, and covered with meadows. In the other parts of the twenty thouſand acres but very little wood has hitherto been

been cut down, although we were assured, that new settlers are continually pouring in. The whole town consists of about fifteen houses, most of them being either inns or shops.

In New Town we met with Colonel STARRET, and we accompanied him to his own house, which is eight miles distant from the town. He is an Irishman by birth, but has been for many years a resident of America; he has a plantation of about thirteen hundred acres, only one hundred of which have been hitherto rendered fit for cultivation. Six hundred were cleared of wood by the Indians, who quitted this part of the country only five years ago. He has lived here seven years, during two of which he was entirely surrounded with Indians; he assured us, however, that he had no reason to complain of them as neighbours. The Indians burn the trees down to the stumps, when they clear any ground; but although the former are thereby destroyed, the stumps which remain must be rooted out, before the soil can be cultivated. The Colonel's estate is apparently under good management. He assured us, that his land is much superior to any in the neighbourhood; that it yields forty bushels of wheat, and as much Indian corn annually; and that his meadows

meadows produce two tuns of hay per acre. He ploughs with oxen, which are of a very good ſort. According to his account, he ploughs deeper than we have obſerved any where elſe in America, making uſe of ploughs of various conſtructions. He keeps no ſheep, on account of the wolves, which are ſaid to be very numerous in this part of the country, it having been but lately cleared. He has a beautiful breed of cows, and a fine looking young bull, produced from a cow, which he bought of 'Squire WALLIS, on the eaſtern arm of the Suſquehannah; it is of the Engliſh breed. The cow, big with calf, coſt him thirty-two dollars; he rears his calves, and does not ſell them. The winter commonly laſts here ſix months; during which time his cows and oxen are kept in the ſtable. He depoſits his turnips, which he gathers in autumn, under ground, and feeds his cattle with them, as well as with Indian corn and hay.

The price of wheat in this part of the country is one dollar, rye five ſhillings, and oats three ſhillings per buſhel. It is difficult to procure workmen hereabouts. Mr. Starret pays them after the rate of one dollar per day, excluſive of victuals. He has two diſtilleries, one upon the eſtate, and another in New Town; in both together

together he distils about two thousand gallons of whisky in a year. Mr. Starret assured us, that a bushel of rye yields, in his distilleries, only from two to two gallons and a half of whisky; and that the spirit is not good, if a larger quantity be distilled from a bushel. He sells his whisky for one dollar per gallon, while, according to the best information we have hitherto been able to collect, whisky, three gallons of which are obtained from a bushel, costs but five shillings. From what we have since heard of this planter, it is probable, that his account is greatly exaggerated, for the purpose of obtaining a higher price for his whisky. The workmen, employed in his distilleries, receive one hundred and ninety dollars *per annum*. The Colonel told us, that he proposed to sell his estate; that he has refused ten thousand dollars for it, and that he means to reside for the future in New Town; he hinted, at the same time, that he is very rich. The same evening we learned from 'Squire MAC-CORNICK, that this pretended Colonel is an impostor; that he purchased his estate, which he told us he had bought from the state of New York for eighteen pence per acre, of a private gentleman, at the rate of two dollars per acre; that he has not yet

yet paid the purchaſe money; and that he will probably be compelled to quit the eſtate, unleſs he finds means to diſcharge the debt within the ſhort time ſtill allowed him. This man, who to all appearance was ſo free-hearted and kind, is at the bottom, a mere ſwindler; or, at leaſt, he ſuppoſed we had a deſign to purchaſe land, and wiſhed to ſell us ſome at an exorbitant price.

'Squire Mac-Cornick, with whom we took up our quarters for the night, is a farmer, and keeps, at the ſame time, an inn, but one of that deſcription, which affords neither hay for horſes, nor food for travellers, and ſcarcely even a bed. The horſes were turned out on the graſs. Our ſupper conſiſted of ruſty bacon and coffee; and we were all four obliged to ſleep in two beds, which belonged to the family. The ſheets had already ſerved them ſome time, and it appears were to ſerve them ſtill longer. Mr. de Blacons and myſelf took poſſeſſion of that of the landlord. Though completely dreſſed, we could not lie down without extreme reluctance; our wearineſs, however, overcame our double averſion to ſleep together, and between ſuch ſheets.

Supper-time was, as uſual, ſpent in mutual enquiries. We learned, that 'Squire Mac-Cornick

nick purchaſed his eſtate, four years ago, of Meſſ. PHELPS and GORHAM for ten ſhillings and ſixpence per acre; that he would not ſell it now for three dollars; that he poſſeſſes about three thouſand acres, one hundred and fifty of which are cultivated, excluſive of forty others, which have been cleared by the Indians. His land yields about thirty buſhels of wheat, fifty baſhels of Indian corn, and four hundred buſhels of potatoes, per acre. He keeps about forty or fifty ſheep, of a middling ſort, and but common wool. He appears duly ſenſible of the advantages to be derived from a good flock, and accordingly he values them higher, than any American that has hitherto fallen within my obſervation. He keeps twenty-three cows, which look tolerably well, a bull of a very indifferent breed, and two yokes of very fine oxen; he has refuſed one hundred dollars for a yoke. The wolves have already deſtroyed ſome of his ſheep. To prevent a repetition of ſuch accidents, he now keeps ſeveral large bull-dogs, and cauſes the flock to be folded every night; neither is he deterred, by the damage he has ſuſtained, from increaſing the number of his ſheep. 'Squire Mac-Cornick has lived here for ſo ſhort a time, that, though a very intelligent man, he could not ſtate with any degree

gree of accuracy the uſual expences of houſe-keeping. His father was an Iriſhman; but he himſelf was born in Pennſylvania, and has travelled in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, and Switzerland. He held, at leaſt according to his own account, a commiſſion in the Engliſh ſervice; but he did not name the regiment in which he ſerved. He is an entertaining man, who appears to underſtand thoroughly what he is about; is very converſable, civil, and modeſt, and expreſſes himſelf with judgment, and often indeed with elegance. He ſeems well acquainted with the laws and intereſts of his country, and is the father of a numerous family, from whoſe aſſiſtance in his labours he is now beginning to reap ſome advantage.

The price of every thing, except corn, is much higher here, than at Aſylum, Tioga, or even New Town, chiefly from the expenſiveneſs of carriage. This was at leaſt the reaſon aſſigned by 'Squire Mac-Cornick for the high amount of his bill, which ſeemed to bear no kind of proportion to the compulſory frugality of our entertainment.

The ſtate of New York impoſes no taxes, to defray the expences of its government: property is taxed only to pay the expences of the county and

and district. Neither the land, which is still covered with wood, nor that which has lately been cleared, is required to pay any. It is only the land, that has been cultivated for a considerable time, that is liable to taxation. The county taxes are raised upon horses, oxen, in short, upon the whole live stock of the farm. All these different species of property are valued by overseers, and taxed by assessors, in proportion to the pecuniary demands of the county. These taxes, of which I shall have an opportunity hereafter to give a more particular account, are all laid very low. 'Squire Mac-Cornick paid for the whole of his taxes last year only four dollars and a half.

The laws of the state of New York have established poor-rates for such districts as contain paupers; but there are very few of that description to be found in this new country. The habitation of 'Squire Mac-Cornick appertains to the county of Ontario; and here this tax is raised, but not in the county of Tioga. The expence of building prisons, sessions-houses, &c. is defrayed by the subscription of individuals. The schools lie at considerable distances from one another, and are kept only in winter; their charge is one dollar a quarter for each scholar.

Reading and writing are taught in the ſchools, but in theſe thinly inhabited foreſts the inſtructors are, in general, ignorant, and extremely indolent. No church has yet been built here; people of all religious perſuaſions live in this country, and all ſeem to be little ſolicitous about religious matters, whatever be the particular ſect to which they belong.

On our way from Newtown, eſpecially between Starret's and Mac-Cornick's habitations, the ſoil is good; and, where it is not yet cleared, is covered with oaks and fine pines. A great part however has been cleared by the Indians, and produces excellent graſs.

From Mac-Cornick's houſe to Painted Poſt the ſoil continues the ſame; but the dwellings are ſo thinly ſcattered, that you may travel twelve miles through the foreſt, without finding a ſingle houſe. The country, being flat, is expoſed to inundation, whenever the creeks and the river Tioga overflow. In the month of December, laſt year (1794), the water roſe to an unprecedented height, namely, from fifteen to nineteen feet above the uſual level. Captain STARBER, who keeps an inn at Painted Poſt, reported this circumſtance to me as an unqueſtionable

tionable fact. He could eaſily meaſure the riſing of the water in his well. This extraordinary inundation ſwept away a great number of fences.

Thurſday, the 4th of June.

We breakfaſted at Painted Poſt, ſix miles from the place at which we had paſſed the night. It is the principal town of the diſtrict, and derives its name from a poſt, hewn and painted by the Indians, the ſtump of which is yet left ſtanding. The firſt inhabitants ſettled here only four years ago. The whole town at preſent conſiſts of ten or twelve ſmall houſes. The land here has alſo been parcelled out and ſold by the ſtate of New York. The ſoil is good, eſpecially near the town, where from fifteen to eighteen dollars are the common price for an acre. The woods are full of roſe-buſhes, apple and plumb trees, and bilberries. There are however but few ſugar-maple trees. The price of this ſugar at the beginning of laſt ſpring was one ſhilling per pound. Wheat ſells for ſeven ſhillings a buſhel; Indian corn for four; oats, three; rye for eleven ſhillings and ſix-pence; and hay for three pounds a tun; although very little of this laſt article is ſold, and that only in the depth of winter. A cow coſts from eighteen to twenty-five dollars;

a yoke of oxen ſeventy-five dollars; ſheep from ſixteen to twenty ſhillings, and wool four ſhillings a pound. Labourers' wages are from four to ſix ſhillings a day, and ten dollars a month without victuals. Maid ſervants earn about ſix ſhillings a week. The quantity of uncultivated land is very conſiderable in this part of the country, though numbers of emigrants, as we were told, are conſtantly coming from all parts to ſettle here. On our journey from Painted Poſt to Bath we met ſeveral families, who had quitted their former habitations in queſt of new ones. Theſe tranſmigrations are generally removals from an old into a new country. The attachment to local property is yet but little known among the Americans. The ſoil, on which they were born, nay that which they have themſelves rendered fit for cultivation, is valued by them little more than any other. Every where they live in a ſimple and frugal manner; their friendly connections alſo are moſtly confined to their own families, which move about with them. Every where they can procure whiſky and ſalt pork. They even experience a real pleaſure in clearing the ground and rendering it fit for cultivation, independently of the profits they make when they leave their eſtates, either altogether in a

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ſtate of cultivation, or at leaſt partly ſo, to purchaſe another, yet covered with wood, and ſome hundred miles farther inland. Among the many emigrants we met this day, there were a great number of perſons who came from Niagara, ſituate in the Engliſh dominions, and were travelling to South Carolina. They were originally Pennſylvanians, from the neighbourhood of Pittſburg, who, allured by the promiſe of Governor SIMCOE, that they ſhould have lands *gratis*, belonging to the King of England, and alſo be aſſiſted for ſome time in their labours, quitted their former places of reſidence, but did not find their new ſituation ſo comfortable as they had been led to expect.* Being alſo viſited by the fever, they forſook their ſettlements, apparently much exaſperated at the expence and labour they had uſeleſsly beſtowed on them.

The road from Painted Poſt to Bath, leads, like that we have paſſed, through the midſt of foreſts, up and down hill, particularly after paſſing the creek of Conneſteon, which flows into the river Tioga, near Painted Poſt. This road,

* By the treaty of 1794 Niagara was to be ceded to the ſtate of New York, which it was in 1796. Hence, probably, we may account for the diſappointment of the ſettlers. *Tranſlator.*

as it is called, which was made by Captain WILLIAMSON, with a design to open a communication between his estate and the eastern arm of the Susquehannah, is in fact nothing but a straight line cut through the wood. The felled trees are, indeed, for the most part removed, but the roots remain, and make the road very bad, miry, and deep; so that in the middle of June, the driest season of the year, a horse cannot travel it without difficulty. At the distance of a mile and a half from Bath is a small lake about two miles in circumference. The lake itself lies within the forest, but close behind it are the marshes, which reach as far as Bath, the chief place of the settlement of Captain Williamson (of whom I shall have occasion presently to speak) and where he generally resides. The Captain was absent in Canandaqua, where he presided as a judge at the sessions, but was expected to return hither in two days time. To make an acquaintance with this gentleman, was an important object to us; we accordingly arranged our plan in such a manner, as to prevent his escaping us. We, therefore, resolved to make an excursion to the small lakes, and to return to Bath in three days, when we should be sure to find the Captain at home.

Friday,

Friday, the 5th of June.

We ſet out without any baggage, as Mr. Guillemard hit upon the benevolent idea of leaving his ſervant at Bath, that he might lend his horſe to Mr. Dupetitthouars. Nothing remarkable occurred during the whole day's journey of thirty-five miles, which we made through continued woods. All this way we have met with but ſix habitations, which ſtand within the foreſt. From Boys' inn to Friendſmill, that is to ſay, in a ſpace of eighteen miles, there is not a ſingle houſe to be ſeen. About eight miles from Bath is Crooked Lake, on which ſtands Boys' inn, as it is called, but where we could procure neither eggs, butter, hay, nor oats. Crooked Lake takes its name, as might be ſuppoſed, from its form; it flows from north to ſouth with a gentle current, in the midſt of mountains, which are not very high; but which, in point of external form, bear a ſtriking reſemblance to each other; this uniform appearance is encreaſed by the wood, with which they are covered. I never ſaw a country abounding more in water, than that through which we paſſed from Boys' inn to Friendſmill. Moſt of the brooks, on account of the ſeaſon, contained, comparatively, but lit-

tle water; though we continually met with tracks of torrents, which, to judge from the ground they had washed away, and the large stones and trees they had swept along, must have been very violent and rapid. The road, which runs by the river side, is nothing but a foot-path, which it is frequently difficult to distinguish. It passes between rocks, felled trees, and bushes, and is one of the most unpleasant to traverse that can be conceived. The woods, however, are extremely beautiful, and shew that the soil is, perhaps, the richest we have yet seen.

The mountains slope toward the lake, and terminate in inconsiderable hills. Their shape announced to us, that we were approaching those vast savannahs, which divide the enormous mass of water, that irrigates America. The plain expands, and the country on a sudden assumes a different aspect, although its decorations are still the same. All the land, which we have hitherto traversed, belongs to captain Williamson, who is very generally beloved and esteemed.

At length, about night-fall, we arrived at Friendsmill, after a very tedious journey, which, on account of the fondness of one of our companions for his bed, we did not begin till late in the day, and which was afterwards delayed by the

the fall of another; this laſt accident, however, was not attended with any diſaſtrous conſequence. The inn, which contained but two rooms, we found already full; ſome perſons, who intended to buy land near the Great Sodus, and Captain Williamſon's agent, who was to ſell it to them, had taken poſſeſſion of it a little before our arrival. After an American ſupper, conſiſting of coffee and boiled ham, we all lay down to reſt in the ſame room. There were only *two* beds for *ten* perſons; in conſequence, theſe two beds were occupied by four of us, and the others lay down in their clothes upon ſtraw, which, though I enjoyed here the privilege of ſharing in one of the beds, appears to me the beſt method of taking repoſe, when you cannot have a bed to yourſelf.

Saturday, the 6th of June.

Friendſmill is a place, conſiſting of ſeveral houſes, which takes its name from its being ſettled or founded by the Friends or Quakers. It lies in the center of the diſtrict, which is called the Friends ſettlement.

One JEMIMA WILKINSON, a Quaker, and a native of Rhode Iſland, manifeſted ſo fervent a zeal in her religion, that at the age of twenty

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ſhe was admitted to all the meetings of the ſociety, which were held weekly, monthly, and quarterly, for ſettling the general concerns and watching over the conduct of the brethren. She at length fancied, that ſhe was called to act ſome great and extraordinary part, and in this perſuaſion formed the project of becoming the leader of a ſect. In the courſe of a long and dangerous illneſs, ſhe was ſuddenly ſeized, or gave it out that ſhe was ſeized with a lethargy, ſo that to her friends ſhe appeared as really dead. She continued, ſeveral hours, in this ſituation; and preparations were actually making for her interment, when ſhe ſuddenly ſtarted up, called for her cloaths, declaring "that ſhe had riſen from the dead, and that ſhe had caſt off all her material ſubſtance, and retained only the ſpiritual." She went, accordingly, to the next meeting, as if with the authority of ſome celeſtial being, ſpoke there as one inſpired, and gained ſome followers. She, ere long, expreſſed her diſpleaſure at ſome religious obſervances of the Quakers; and was, on this account, reprimanded by the meeting; which appears to have been preciſely the thing ſhe wiſhed for and expected. In the opinion of others, ſhe met with this reproof, becauſe at the beginning of the revolutionary war,

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ſhe had been much attached to the Tories, and favoured the Engliſh party by declaiming againſt the war, according to the principles of the doctrine ſhe profeſſed. She continued preaching and proceeding in this manner, till ſhe was excluded from the meetings, which indeed all along appeared to be her particular wiſh. Being now a perſecuted perſon, at leaſt by her own account, ſhe began to gain ſome partizans. She preached publicly on the neceſſity of the abolition of all meetings convened to cenſure, of a reform of the church-eſtabliſhment, of granting to the Friends univerſal liberty to preach, what they pleaſed, without firſt aſking leave to do ſo, &c. She ſoon made ſome proſelytes, and at the ſame time drew on herſelf the diſpleaſure of all, who adhered to the old forms of the religion of the Quakers. She experienced, therefore, a very unfavourable reception for herſelf and her doctrines, both in Philadelphia and New York. Wherever ſhe came, every Quaker turned away from her with abhorrence, as the enemy of his religion; and all other perſons deemed her a fool or an enthuſiaſt. This diſpoſition of the public ſhe again called a perſecution, it being favourable to her ultimate views. The number of her followers was now daily increaſing; and as ſhe

confidently

confidently truſted it would become ſtill more conſiderable, ſhe thought they might perhaps be willing to follow her. Accordingly ſhe propoſed to a number of them, to flee from theſe regions of intolerance, and to ſettle in a place where they might worſhip God undiſturbed, and free from that bitter ſpirit of perſecution, which men had introduced in oppoſition to the divine will.

Soon after the country about Lake Seneca and Crooked Lake was fixed upon as the place of their ſettlement. The company of New York, which had purchaſed this land from the Indians, entered into a treaty for the ſale of it with theſe reformed Quakers. They were promiſed three tracts of land, containing each ſix thouſand ſquare acres, which were to form three diſtricts, and to which Jemima inſtantly gave the name of Jeruſalem. Thirty families removed hither with her; but ſhe had confidently expected three or four hundred more, of whom, however, not above twenty at laſt arrived. This ſociety ſoon ſpread over the three diſtricts, which it was to occupy; but was not ſufficiently numerous to repleniſh the fourth part of each. The enchantment, however, had already been broken by Jemima's abſence, and with it had alſo vaniſhed their zeal for peopling this new land of promiſe.

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We ſaw Jemima, and attended her meeting, which is held in her own houſe. We found there about thirty perſons, men, women, and children. Jemima ſtood at the door of her bed-chamber on a carpet, with an arm-chair behind her. She had on a white morning gown, and waiſtcoat, ſuch as men wear, and a petticoat of the ſame colour. Her black hair was cut ſhort, carefully combed, and divided behind into three ringlets; ſhe wore a ſtock, and a white ſilk cravat, which was tied about her neck with affected negligence. In point of delivery, ſhe preached with more eaſe, than any other Quaker, I have yet heard; but the ſubject matter of her diſcourſe was an eternal repetition of the ſame topics, death, ſin, and repentance. She is ſaid to be about forty years of age, but ſhe did not appear to be more than thirty. She is of middle ſtature, well made, of a florid countenance, and has fine teeth, and beautiful eyes. Her action is ſtudied; ſhe aims at ſimplicity, but there is ſomewhat of pedantic in her manner. In her chamber we found her friend, RACHEL MILLER, a young woman of about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, her follower and admirer, who is entirely devoted to her. All the land which Jemima poſſeſſes is purchaſed in the name of Rachel Miller,

Miller, an advantage which ſhe owes to her influence over her adherents, and to her dexterity in captivating their affections.

Jemima, or *the Friend* (as ſhe is called by way of eminence) inculcates, as her leading tenet, poverty, and reſignation of all earthly poſſeſſions. If you talk to her of her houſe, ſhe always calls it "the houſe, which I inhabit." This houſe, however, though built only of the trunks of trees, is extremely pretty and commodious. Her room is exquiſitely neat; and reſembles more the *boudoir* of a fine lady, than the cell of a nun. It contains a looking-glaſs, a clock, an arm-chair, a good bed, a warming-pan, and a ſilver ſaucer. Her garden is kept in good order; her ſpring-houſe * is full of milk, cheeſe, butter, butcher's-meat and game. Her hypocriſy may be traced in all her diſcourſes, actions, and conduct, and even in the very manner in which ſhe manages her countenance. She ſeldom ſpeaks, without quoting the Bible, or introducing a ſerious ſentence about death, and the neceſſity of making our peace with God. Whatever does not belong to her own ſect is with her an object of diſtaſte

* Theſe are ſmall offices or detached houſes in America, in which butter, milk, and freſh meat are generally kept. They are called *ſpring-houſes*, becauſe a ſtream of freſh water is always running through them.

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and ſtedfaſt averſion. She ſows diſſention in families, to deprive the lawful heir of his right of inheritance, in order to appropriate it to herſelf; and all this ſhe does under the name and by the agency of her companion, who receives all the preſents brought by the faithful, and preſerves them for her *reverend friend*, who, being wholly abſorbed in her communion with Chriſt, whoſe propheteſs ſhe is, would abſolutely forget the ſupply of her bodily wants, if ſhe were not well taken care of. The number of her votaries has, of late, much decreaſed. Many of the families, who followed her to Jeruſalem, are no longer the dupes of her ſelf-intereſted policy. Some ſtill keep up the outward appearance of attachment to her; while others have openly diſclaimed their connexion with Jemima. Such however as ſtill continue her adherents, appear to be entirely devoted to her. With theſe ſhe paſſes for a propheteſs, an indeſcribable being; ſhe is not Jemima Wilkinſon, but a ſpirit of a peculiar name, which remains a profound ſecret to all, who are not true believers; ſhe is the *Friend*, the *All-friend*. Six or ſeven girls of different ages, but all young and handſome, wait upon her, with ſurpriſing emulation, to enjoy the peculiar ſatisfaction of being permitted to approach this celeſtial

tail being. Her fields, and her garden, are ploughed and dug by the Friends, who neglect their own buſineſs, to take care of her's; and the *All-friend* is ſo condeſcending, as not to refuſe their ſervices; ſhe comforts them with a kind word now and then, makes enquiries after and provides for their health and welfare, and has the art of effectually captivating their affections, the more perhaps becauſe ſhe knows how to keep her votaries at a reſpectful diſtance.

When the ſervice was over, Jemima invited us to dinner. The hope of watching her more narrowly induced us to accept the invitation; but we did not then know, that it forms a part of the character ſhe acts, never to eat with any one. She ſoon left us; and locking herſelf up with her female friend, ſat down, without other company, to an excellent dinner; we did not get ours, till after ſhe had dined. When our dinner was over, and alſo another, which was ſerved up after ours, the ſanctuary opened again. And now Jemima appeared once more at the door of her room, and converſed with us, ſeated in an arm-chair. When ſtrangers are with her, ſhe never comes over the threſhold of her bed-room; and when by herſelf, ſhe is conſtantly engaged in deliberation how to improve the demeſne of her friend.

friend. The houſe was, this day, very full. Our company conſiſted of exactly ten perſons; after us dined another company of the ſame number; and as many dined in the kitchen. Our plates, as well as the table-linen, were perfectly clean and neat; our repaſt, although frugal, was yet better in quality than any, of which we had partaken, ſince our departure from Philadelphia; it conſiſted of good freſh meat, with pudding, an excellent ſallad, and a beverage of a peculiar yet charming flavour, with which we were plentifully ſupplied out of Jemima's apartment, where it was prepared. The devout gueſts obſerved, all this while, a profound ſilence; they either caſt down their eyes, or lifted them up to heaven with a rapturous ſigh; to me they appeared, not unlike a party of the faithful, in the primitive ages, dining in a church.

The *All-friend* had by this time exchanged her former dreſs for that of a fine Indian lady, which, however, was cut out in the ſame faſhion as the former. Her hair and eye-brows had again been combed. She did not utter a ſyllable reſpecting our dinner; nor did ſhe offer to make any apology for her abſence. Conſtantly engaged in perſonating the part ſhe has aſſumed, ſhe deſcanted in a ſanctimonious, myſtic tone, on death,

and on the happineſs of having been an uſeful inſtrument to others in the way of their ſalvation. She afterwards gave us a rhapſody of prophecies to read, aſcribed to one Dr. LOVE, who was beheaded in CROMWELL's time; wherein ſhe clearly diſcerned, according to her accounts, the French Revolution, the decline and downfall of Popery, and the impending end of the world. Finding, however, that this converſation was but ill adapted to engage our attention, ſhe cut ſhort her harangue at once. We had indeed already ſeen more than enough, to eſtimate the character of this bad actreſs, whoſe pretended ſanctity only inſpired us with contempt and diſguſt, and who is altogether incapable of impoſing upon any perſon of common underſtanding, unleſs thoſe of the moſt ſimple minds, or downright enthuſiaſts. Her ſpeeches are ſo ſtrongly contradicted by the tenor of her actions; her whole conduct, her expence, compared with that of other families, within a circumference of fifty miles, her way of living, and her dreſs, form ſuch a ſtriking contraſt with her harangues on the ſubject of contemning earthly enjoyments; and the extreme aſſiduity, with which ſhe is continually endeavouring to induce children, over whom ſhe has any influence, to leave their parents, and form a

part

part of her community; all thoſe particulars ſo ſtrongly militate againſt the doctrine of peace and univerſal love, which ſhe is inceſſantly preaching, that we were actually ſtruck with abhorrence of her duplicity and hypocriſy, as ſoon as the firſt emotions of our curioſity ſubſided.

Her fraudulent conduct, indeed, has been diſcovered by ſo many perſons, and ſo much has been ſaid againſt it, that it is difficult to account for her having had any adherents at all, even for a ſhort time. And yet ſhe will probably retain a ſufficient number, to encreaſe ſtill further her fortune, which is already conſiderable for the country in which ſhe reſides, and fully adequate to the only end which ſhe now ſeems anxious to attain; namely, to live independent, in a decent, plentiful, and even elegant manner. There are ſo many weak-minded religioniſts, and Jemima is ſo particularly careful to ſelect her diſciples among perſons who are either very old or very young, that her impoſture, however groſs and palpable to the diſcerning, may yet be carried on for ſome time with ſucceſs, ſufficient to anſwer her ultimate purpoſe. If her credit ſhould ſink too low, ſhe would find herſelf conſtrained to tranſplant her holineſs to ſome other region; and, in fact, ſhe had, laſt year, harboured the

deſign of removing her family and eſtabliſhment, and of ſettling in Carlton Iſland, on the Lake of Ontario, where ſhe would enjoy the ſatisfaction of living under the Engliſh Government, which, by her account, has proffered her a grant of land.

If we may believe common rumour, ſhe diſſuades the young women generally from marrying. In regard to thoſe about her, this advice originates from motives of perſonal intereſt. I have little doubt, but that the pious devotion of theſe girls is fervent enough, to ſubmit to all the caprices of the *All-friend* (which in their belief are inſpirations). Another report is alſo handed about, that ſhe has met with a male being, whom ſhe fancies ſufficiently purified, to unite occaſionally with her own exalted ſociety and converſe. On this head a ſtory prevails, which, though ſomewhat ludicrous, may yet properly find a place in a work of the graveſt complexion, eſpecially as it affords an additional proof of the endleſs multiplicity of pious deceptions.

Among other votaries of Jemima was one *'Squire* PARKER, who ſettled in her neighbourhood, and ſtill reſides near Friendſmill. Though a jolly fellow, ever gay and jocund, he eſpouſed very zealouſly the cauſe and intereſt of the propheteſs. This Parker, who was conſtantly in Jemima's

Jemima's retinue, gave himſelf out to be the Prophet Elijah, and very rightly conceived, that, by aſſuming a peculiar dreſs, he ſhould give a more impoſing character to his impoſtures. He wore accordingly a white gown with large ſleeves, and a girdle; in ſhort, whatever he fancied might belong to the coſtume of the ancient prophets. This was the being, who was honoured with the high privilege of living with the *All-friend* on terms of the greateſt intimacy. One evening the 'Squire, during a colloquy, inſtituted by the divine and holy friend for the edification of her flock, ſtole into the celeſtial bed, which happened to be already occupied by a young girl of only fourteen. This girl, who had frequently heard the *All-friend* ſay, that the Meſſiah ſometimes appeared to her in her bed under different forms, and that ſhe then converſed with him, fancied herſelf choſen by heaven to enjoy the felicity of being a witneſs of one of theſe apparitions, and retired piouſly to the edge of the bed, where with awful reſpect and in profound ſilence ſhe liſtened to the repeated raptures, with which the pretended Meſſiah bleſſed the *All-friend*. The next morning the poor girl could not refrain from indulging her vanity by acquainting all her friends, that in the bed of her *friend* ſhe had ſeen Chriſt,

but who greatly reſembled, ſhe ſaid, the Prophet Elijah. Her curious and enraptured friends enquired into all the particulars of this apparition, of which ſhe gave the moſt ſatisfactory and circumſtantial account in her power. It will hardly be doubted, that this religious trick not a little ſtrengthened the credulity of the female friends in the *All-friend*, and inſpired Jemima with aſſurance, frequently to enjoy ſimilar apparitions.

A juſtice of the peace in the country, ſpeaking of Jemima, aſſured us alſo, that one of the girls, who lived with her, has judicially depoſed, that, one day, ſhe heard the cry of a new-born infant, which Jemima's negro-woman, as is conjectured, was in the act of ſmothering between two mattreſſes. That this depoſition exiſts is undeniable; but the fact itſelf is ſo atrocious, that it would ſeem incredible with reſpect to any other perſon except a propheteſs. Whether this child were the reſult of a ſlip of one of the maids of honour, or the fruit of her own intercourſe with the apparitions, is not known. If, from the little regard that has been paid to this ſtory, its veracity ſhould appear doubtful, let it be obſerved, that in this new country juſtice is but ſeldom duly adminiſtered; that, often, it is difficult to obtain it at all; and that no one deems himſelf intereſted

intereſted in ſubſtantiating the truth of the depoſition, which, after all, it would be no eaſy matter to do. Derviſes, pontiffs, and prieſts of moſt religious perſuaſions throughout the world, ſuch at leaſt as would render religion ſubſervient to worldly purpoſes, are either impoſtors or enthuſiaſts. Alas! alas! much the greater number, I fear, belong with Jemima to the former claſs!

The firſt ſettlers, who thoughtleſsly followed their divinity to this place, not being able to purchaſe the lands, which compoſed the three diſtricts, the remainder has been reſtored to the company, who have again diſpoſed of it, and are ſtill ſelling it to all, who are deſirous of becoming ſettlers. Accordingly, numbers of Methodiſts, Anabaptiſts, and members of the Church of England, are now to be ſeen here; yet the colony retains its original name of *The Friends' Settlement*. Two meetings have been built here for the Quakers; one for the Methodiſts, and one for the Anabaptiſts. The ſoil in theſe parts appears to be of prime quality. The land, occupied by families of Quakers, amounts to about five hundred acres, more or leſs cleared, which produce excellent crops.

The eſtate, which we viewed with moſt attention, is that of BENEDICT ROBINSON, ſituate

between Lake Seneca and Friendſmill. This Robinſon is one of the Quakers, who arrived here in the retinue of the *All-friend*, being then one of her moſt zealous diſciples. He now ſpeaks on this ſubject with evident embarraſſment, in terms which ſtill evince his attachment, yet without enthuſiaſm, and without extolling her or placing implicit confidence in her divine miſſion and oracular effuſions. In ſhort, he expreſſes himſelf in a manner, which ſufficiently indicates, that he has been impoſed upon by her in a higher degree, than he is willing to acknowledge. Knowing that he ſtill profeſſed an attachment to her, and perceiving the embarraſſment with which he delivered himſelf on this ſubject, we thought proper to diſcontinue our enquiries. This Benedict Robinſon is a ſenſible, mild, and well behaved man; he reſides on an eſtate of five hundred acres, about one hundred and fifty of which are cleared. Eighty have been laid out as meadows, and on theſe are ſown timothy-graſs, and white clover. He purchaſed his demeſne from the New York company for five ſhillings an acre, and it is now worth, at leaſt, three or four dollars. His preſent ſtock amounts to about thirty-five head of cattle; but he intends to rear more, and to make this the chief branch of his farming

buſineſs,

buſineſs, on a plan which appears well adapted to the nature of the ground. Mr. Robinſon, who has reſided here only three years, has not yet been able to acquire any important information on the different departments of agriculture, and on the productions beſt adapted to the ſoil; and beſides he appears to labour under prejudices, which he entertains in common with the great majority of American farmers. He does not plough his land, but contents himſelf with breaking it up with a harrow of iron teeth, which tears up the ground about four inches deep. After this ſimple operation, he ſows his wheat, yet never until he has reaped two crops of potatoes or oats from the land, on which the wheat is ſown. The ſoil is ſo ſtrong, that, if rye were ſown immediately after clearing the ground, the ears would run up ſo high, and grow ſo heavy, that they would fall on one ſide, and be damaged by rotting. This fact, as he aſſured us, is evident from the general experience of the other farmers of this diſtrict. Wheat, ſown after the firſt harrowing, produces from twenty to twenty-five buſhels, and Indian corn about ſixty buſhels. Wheat is ſown for ſeveral years ſucceſſively, after harrowing, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from the plough, and the crops continue conſtantly the ſame. Several farmers,

mers, who have ſown wheat in this manner for theſe laſt ſix years, have ſtill obtained good crops. Rye yields alſo from twenty to twenty-five buſhels, and oats thirty-five. But I muſt once more obſerve, that neither wheat nor rye is ever ſown for the firſt crop. Mr. Robinſon told us, that, in compliance with the wiſh of a friend, he ploughed half an acre, on which he ſowed wheat, but that the other half, which was not ploughed, turned out more productive than the former. This aſſertion, however, is ſo contradictory to all theory, as well as to the univerſal experience of agriculturiſts, who uſe the plough, that it ſeemed to us very problematical, and founded on prejudice, rather than on mature reflection and obſervation. Mr. Robinſon is alſo of opinion, that barked trees, which are left ſtanding on the cleared land, far from leſſening the produce, rather increaſe it, by ſhading the land, and thus preventing the ſoil from being too rapidly penetrated by the rays of the ſun; the immediate contact of which having never experienced before, it ſhould be accuſtomed to it by degrees. But this opinion is rather the offspring of prejudice than ſound reaſon; and, according to a general practice obſervable in all countries and climates, ſeems rather intended to reconcile us to the

the impoſſibility of proceeding otherwiſe, than to eſtabliſh itſelf as a new agricultural truth. It cannot be denied, that the number of the ſheaves, and compactneſs of the ears, which we meet with on lands, where two hundred barked trees have been left ſtanding on an acre, is in itſelf really ſurpriſing. But then theſe two hundred trees, reckoning only eighteen ſquare inches for each tree, muſt engroſs a conſiderable ſpace, which might produce a proportionate quantity of grain.

In this part of Geneſſee the winter laſts from four to five months. The cattle are fed with hay and ſtraw, but remain always in the open air. Mr. Robinſon fed his cattle at firſt in the ſtall; but the experience of the laſt two years has convinced him, that they thrive better in the open air, where they alſo conſume leſs fodder: his cattle are, therefore, now fed in the farm-yard. The produce of the eſtate conſiſts in grain, cheeſe, and butter. The hay is moſtly conſumed on the farm. The average produce is one tun and a half per acre, beſide the graſs, which is conſumed by the cattle as it grows. As the extent of his meadows ſhall be gradually enlarged, he propoſes to increaſe his ſtock, which he intends to make a principal article of his trade.

The

The produce of his eſtate is tranſported on the lakes, either to Canandaqua, Geneva, or Bath. Laſt year he ſold one thouſand pounds weight of cheeſe, at the rate of a ſhilling a pound. He keeps about forty ſheep, and hopes to increaſe his flock, without being apprehenſive of the wolves, which, though very numerous in the ſurrounding foreſts, do but little harm. His wool is fine, and ſells for four ſhillings a pound, without regard to its quality; for in this country, which is yet too young to poſſeſs manufactories, every farmer manufactures, in his own family, all the cloth he wants: the ſale of wool is therefore very inconſiderable; a circumſtance, which tends not a little to confirm the farmers in their prejudices againſt rearing ſheep. Wheat ſells here from ſix to ſeven ſhillings, Indian corn four, and rye five ſhillings per buſhel; the price of flour is two dollars and a half per hundred weight; ſalt beef ten pence per pound, and freſh beef from four pence to five pence. Hemp ſells at one penny a pound; a pair of tolerably good oxen will fetch from ſixty to ſeventy dollars, and a cow from twenty-five to thirty. Servants earn from five to ſix ſhillings wages a week. A few negroes excepted, maid-ſervants do all the work about the farm as well as the houſe. Day labourers, as in

moſt

moſt other parts of America, are not eaſily procured; their pay is four ſhillings a day, or from nine to ten dollars a month.

In the whole adjoining diſtrict there is but one ſchool, and that is kept by the Quakers, who, however, admit all children without diſtinction, on their paying four ſhillings per quarter. None of the medical faculty have yet ſettled here. The ſettlement, however, upon the whole, is advancing to proſperity with rapid ſtrides. It is ſurrounded by the immenſe tract of land, which belongs to Captain Williamſon, and conſequently enjoys all the advantages and improvements, which his extenſive eſtabliſhment commands. Mr. Robinſon's eſtate, which he purchaſed from the company in New York, appears to be actually within the precincts of Captain Williamſon's demeſne; as the latter, who bought his lands from the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, learned from the report of his ſurveyors, that the boundaries of New York lay farther out. Accordingly theſe boundaries were marked out, and a line drawn, forming a triangle with the old line, the point of which touches the line of Pennſylvania, below the river Tioga, while the baſe, which ſtretches along the Lake of Ontario, is from three to four miles in breadth; this has enlarged Captain Williamſon's

liamſon's demeſne, which he holds from the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, one hundred and twenty thouſand acres. Robinſon's eſtate lies within this new line. Under ſome apprehenſion for the conſequences, with which this change of property might be attended, he has not, at preſent, made all the improvements, which he had in view. He is aſſured, however, that he will be well uſed, and that the ſtate of New York, equally weighing the juſtice of Captain Williamſon's claim, and the legality of poſſeſſion of the lands ſince parcelled out to the ſettlers, will indemnify the former by grants of an equal quantity of uncleared ground, and thus prevent the latter from being moleſted in the quiet poſſeſſion of the lands, which they hold from the company in New York. Robinſon is now building a good wooden houſe, and he propoſes to clear a great additional number of acres.

The expence of felling and barking the trees, and incloſing the ground, amounts, at preſent, to ſix dollars per acre. Two years ago it did not exceed four. The owner of the land provides the oxen neceſſary for removing the largeſt trunks.

I muſt not forget, however, to obſerve, that according to an agreement, concluded many years ago, between the ſtates of New York and Maſſachuſetts,

Maſſachuſetts, all the lands ſold by and belonging to the latter, are to be ſubjected to the territorial ſupremacy of New York.

The lands hereabouts are frequently viſited, as they were this year, by a ſpecies of locuſts, which fix chiefly on the trees, and deſtroy the leaves. They are ſo extremely numerous, that every attempt to deſtroy or remove them muſt apparently prove fruitleſs. Flies likewiſe are very troubleſome here, being found in ſuch prodigious ſwarms, eſpecially about noon, that the farmers are obliged to keep large fires burning near their houſes, where the cattle find ſhelter from theſe tormenting inſects, until the cool of the evening, when the latter diſappear, and retire into the woods.

Lake Seneca is about two miles and a half diſtant from Mr. Robinſon's eſtate. By the Indians it was called Canada Saga. Its preſent name is doubtleſs derived from the circumſtance of its diſcharging itſelf into the river Seneca, which, after being joined by ſix or ſeven ſmaller lakes, at length empties itſelf into the immenſe Lake of Ontario. It is remarkable, that all the other waters, even up to this degree of latitude, flow in a ſoutherly direction. Lake Seneca is about forty miles in length, by three, four, and

five

five miles in breadth. It is ſaid to abound in fiſh of a very fine flavour, as do all the other American lakes, and yet fiſh is as ſcarce here as in any other part. The inhabitants of the banks are ſo few, and have ſo much other buſineſs upon their hands, that they can ſeldom or ever find time to go a fiſhing. To render this branch of induſtry flouriſhing, the population and wealth of a country muſt have reached to a certain height, from which America, in its preſent ſtate, ſeems far removed. In the towns every inhabitant is engaged in buſineſs, either as a merchant or a tradeſman; and in the country every planter and farmer either keeps an inn or a ſtore. All other occupations are, and will yet, for ſome time, be out of the queſtion.

The point, where we arrived at the banks of Lake Seneca, contains a ſettlement of about three or four houſes, among which that of Mr. NORRIS is the moſt conſpicuous; it is a ſmall, neat log-houſe, handſome in its appearance, and connected with another, in which he keeps a ſtore. It is no eaſy matter to conceive why this perſon, who is poſſeſſed of an immenſe quantity of land on the oppoſite bank of the lake, ſhould erect theſe two houſes here, on a ſpot which does not belong to him, but which, according to a verbal promiſe

promiſe of the company at New York, which claimed the property of the ground, was to be ſold to him, if he choſe to have it, a contract which the company is now unable to fulfil; as by the late aſcertainment of the boundaries, this ſpot is included within the demeſne of Captain Williamſon, of whom, for want of a written agreement, he has no right to demand an indemnification. Yet Captain Williamſon will himſelf, no doubt, perform that promiſe, if it ſhall appear to have been made actually and *bona fide*. Independently of the benevolent ſentiments, which are generally aſcribed to this gentleman, he poſſeſſes ſufficient diſcernment to perceive, that his intereſt is greatly promoted by a juſt conduct and civil demeanor.

A pot and pearl-aſh work forms no inconſiderable part of this ſmall ſettlement. The navigation on the lake not only facilitates the home conveyance of the aſhes, which are made on both banks of the lake, whenever the ground is cleared, but alſo the exportation of thoſe articles to Geneva or Catherine's Town; which places are ſituate at the two extremities of the lake. By means of his ſtore, Mr. Norris can procure his aſhes at a very reaſonable rate, as he pays for them in commodities, which he receives at

New York, and the carriage for which amounts to only three dollars per cent.

Our two travelling companions, who had laſt year paſſed over this part of our journey, introduced us on the ſame day to Mr. POTTER, a rich land-owner, who poſſeſſes about twenty-five thouſand acres, and reſides eight miles from Friendſmill. About one hundred and fifty acres of his eſtate are already reduced under tillage; and he gave us nearly the ſame information, relative to the ſtate and agricultural productions of theſe parts, as Mr. Robinſon. Mr. Potter and his whole family were formerly among the ſeveral zealous adherents of Jemima, but his attachment is now converted into contempt, and even deteſtation. He has not only renounced all communion with her, but, at the ſame time, all the peculiar habits and tenets of the Quakers. He lives on his eſtate in a more elegant and gentleman-like manner, than any other land-holder in this neighbourhood. He keeps ſeveral ſervants, and rather ſuperintends the management of his eſtate by others, than attends actively to it himſelf. He poſſeſſes a good corn-mill, and a ſaw-mill, which are both worked for him, by a miller whom he employs. His corn-mill has yet ground ſolely for the public; and, for this reaſon,

ſon, it has only one courſe, although the quantity of water is fully ſufficient to ſupply two. He intends to add another courſe, as ſoon as the country ſhall be ſufficiently populous to keep it in employment. The ſaw-mill may alſo be enlarged, as occaſion requires. The uſual price for the ſawing of timber is either ſix dollars in money for every thouſand feet, or half the boards cut. We were very civilly received by Mr. Potter and his family, yet rather with exterior politeneſs than true urbanity. Mr. Potter ſpeaks little, yet expreſſes himſelf on moſt ſubjects with great propriety. Whether from baſhfulneſs, or affectation, he has about him an air of reſerve, which is not a little diſagreeable to a traveller, and proves unfavourable to his deſire of information—the great motive which brought us hither. It muſt, however, be admitted, that to anſwer the endleſs queſtions of ſtrangers muſt, at beſt, prove an irkſome taſk to a land-holder—a confeſſion, which includes our moſt grateful acknowledgments to thoſe, who have been polite enough to gratify our curioſity.

The whole country abounds in ſugar-maple trees *, and very conſiderable quantities of this

* Acer ſaccharinum, Lin. called by the Indians Ozzketa.—*Tranſl.*

ſugar are made here. The following is the ſubſtance of the information, which we were able to procure on this head:

1. The medium produce of a tree, ſtanding in the midſt of a wood, is three pounds of ſugar.

2. The average produce of trees, ſtanding on ground which has been cleared of all other wood, is from ſix to ſeven pounds per tree.

3. A barrel of the firſt juice, which comes from the maple-tree, will yield ſeven pounds of ſugar, if the tree ſtand ſingle, and four, if it ſtand in the midſt of other wood. This ſugar is ſold at one ſhilling per pound.

4. A barrel of the ſecond juice will yield three gallons and a half of treacle.

5. Four or five barrels of the third juice will yield one barrel of a good and pleaſant vinegar.

6. The vinegar is found to be better, in proportion as it is more concentrated. This is the caſe with Robinſon's vinegar, who, from ten barrels of the third juice, brews but one barrel of vinegar.

7. To clarify the vinegar, it muſt be boiled with leaven.

8. The third juice, which is not uſed for vinegar, yields cyder of an excellent flavour, when mixed with an equal quantity of water.

9. The

9. The longer the firſt juice is boiled, the better and finer the ſugar will become.

10. In order that the trees may continue productive, they require to be tapped with extraordinary care; i. e. the fiſſures muſt be neither too deep, nor too wide, ſo that no water may ſettle in them, after the juice is extracted, and that the wood may cloſe again in the ſpace of a twelve-month.

11. During the time the juice is flowing out, which laſts about ſix weeks, and generally begins on the 1ſt of February, all the days on which it freezes or rains are loſt, ſo that the number of days on which the buſineſs can be purſued to advantage is frequently, from theſe circumſtances, much diminiſhed.

12. Maple ſugar, however, is already obtained in ſufficient quantities, to form a reſpectable article of trade, as during the above time two perſons can frequently make from five to ſix hundred pounds of it, and this quantity will be increaſed in proportion to the number of workmen employed. As the maple-tree, wherever it grows, multiplies with aſtoniſhing rapidity, we found, almoſt every where on our journey, no want of excellent ſugar. At Robinſon's it was better and finer than we had met with any

where elſe; although in general it is not ſo white here as at Aſylum, where Meſſrs. de VILLAINE and D'ANDLAU refine it with the yolks of eggs. At honeſt Robinſon's we alſo partook of an excellent *liqueur*, or dram, which he called cherry-rum, and which conſiſts of the juice of wild cherries, mixed up with a ſmall quantity of rum. We learned, on this occaſion, that the cherry-tree never produces fruit in a foreſt, but only when it ſtands ſingle; from which it ſhould ſeem, that the neighbouring trees injure and impede its vegetation. We were indebted chiefly to Mr. Robinſon for the information we obtained on this ſubject, but the truth of it was equally confirmed from other quarters.

Our rambles in this neighbourhood led us, at length, to Friendſmill, where we found Captain Williamſon. The reſolution of making this additional excurſion, in lieu of waiting for him at Bath, ſeemed the moſt proper we could adopt. I think it right here to take ſome notice of our worthy landlady at Friendſmill. She is a young woman, born and married at New York, whom the ſpeculating propenſity of her huſband has brought into this country to keep an inn. She arrived here about two months ago; the elegance of her manners, and the propriety of her conduct

duct, distinguish her very advantageously, even from many American ladies, who move in a higher sphere than that of inn-keepers. Her husband, engaged in his speculations, has been absent almost all the time since her arrival here. This young and elegant person, highly amiable in every point of view, derives additional charms from her delicate state of health, which seems to indicate, that she was not designed by nature for the drudgery of an inn-keeper's wife in America. She is, moreover, without the assistance of any servant, and is, consequently, obliged to perform every menial work herself in her new situation; and this she does with a degree of industry, and a mien so noble and graceful, as at once to command our sympathy, respect, and love. We found ourselves interested in her, she attracted all our esteem, and gained our warmest admiration. On our departure we testified our wish that her husband might soon return, and bring with him the servants she stands so much in need of; and, without whose assistance her health would be irretrievably injured, by the incessant toils requisite in her present situation. On the whole, we observed, that the women are handsomer here than in any other parts of the Continent we have hitherto traversed.

Monday, the 8th of June.

Our friend Blacons, who had not yet completely recovered from his fall, and was apprehenſive of a ſimilar accident on our way back, propoſed to wait for us in Canandaqua, in order to avoid the fatigue of travelling eighty miles with us in a difficult country. We ſhould value our friends not for the pleaſure they afford us, but on their own account. This truiſm, which in general is conſidered as mere theory, was here reduced by us to practice. We felt and teſtified our regret at parting with Blacons, but left this matter to his own option; fearful, only, that he ſhould miſs his way, though ſhort and plain enough. He would not have taken this reſolution, probably, could he have foreſeen that M. Dupetitthouars and myſelf, miſſing our way at the very outſet, would be neceſſitated to ſtrike into the upper road, which is very good, and thus avoid the impediments, which occaſioned his fall, and juſtified his apprehenſions.

On our way back to Bath we met with nothing remarkable, except an Indian intoxicated with whiſky, and who demanded of us more of that liquor. He belonged to a troop, which was hunting in the foreſt, and had his child with him,

him, though no Indian habitation was to be found within the ſpace of two or three hundred miles. Nothing, however, is more common than theſe hunting-rambles, even at ſuch a great diſtance from all habitations. The produce of the chaſe they ſell to any inhabitants they meet for a dollar or a bottle of whiſky, and behave, on moſt occaſions, in a very orderly manner. Few or no complaints are made of them; a circumſtance the more eaſily accounted for, as an intoxicated perſon is here by no means an uncommon appearance.

Wedneſday, the 10th of June.

At Bath we were led by a train of reflections to obſerve how much the ſucceſs of a ſettlement depends on the activity, judicious management, inceſſant application, and ſteady proſecution of a well-concerted plan; ſucceſs, indeed, muſt neceſſarily crown not only this ſort of undertaking, but all others, when thus planned and executed. Whether Captain Williamſon be the ſole proprietor of the lands in Geneſſee, or co-owner thereof; or, which appears to me the moſt probable, is merely the agent of the wealthy Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY of London, the real poſſeſſor of theſe lands, all things relative to the ſettlement of them are tranſacted in the

Captain's

Captain's name, he being conſidered as the ſole creator, director, and main ſpring, of every act of purchaſe and ſale which is made or negociated.

The land in Geneſſee, or rather that part of it which belongs to the State of Maſſachuſetts, and was not then ſold, was, in 1791, purchaſed in London of Mr. Morris for one ſhilling per acre; he had bought it of Mr. PHELPS for five-pence per acre. The contract was concluded on the ſuppoſition, that this tract of land contained a million of acres; and on condition, that the fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, which were to be paid immediately, ſhould be returned by Mr. Morris, provided that Captain Williamſon, who was to view the lands, ſhould not find them anſwerable to the deſcription given by the vender. Captain Williamſon was highly ſatisfied with the lands; and, of courſe, the agreement was definitively ſettled. It reflects no little credit on Mr. Morris, that, when on ſurveying the lands a ſurplus of one hundred and twenty thouſand acres was diſcovered, he made no difficulty in transferring them, together with the reſt, to Captain Williamſon, without the leaſt remuneration, becauſe, as he obſerved, it had been his intention *bona fide* to ſell the whole without any reſervation whatever. But for this

generous

generous mode of proceeding, the diſcovery of ſuch a conſiderable ſurplus might have furniſhed ample matter for litigation. It is much to be wiſhed, that ſo diſintereſted and liberal a character may find means, to extricate himſelf from the difficulties, in which he is now involved.

This diſtrict of Captain Williamſon's, bounded on one ſide by Lake Ontario, and on the other by the river Geneſſee, extends eighty miles in length by thirty or forty in breadth. Though this diſtrict comprehends a quantity of land, which was ſold antecedent to Captain Williamſon's contract, yet its continuity is not thereby interrupted. Captain Williamſon has purchaſed ſome other land, which he has annexed to that bought of Mr. Morris, ſo that he is now the proprietor of a tract conſiſting of not leſs than one million five hundred thouſand acres. After having ſpent ſix months in viſiting and ſurveying this extenſive diſtrict, he at length came to a determination, to found at once ſeveral large eſtabliſhments, rather than one capital colony. He accordingly fixed upon the moſt eligible ſpots for building towns, which were to ſerve as central points to his whole ſyſtem of ſettlements; theſe were, Bath, on the creek of Conhocton; Williamſburg, on the river Geneſſee; Geneva, at the extremity of Lake Seneca; and Great Sodus, on

Lake

Lake Ontario. He has divided his whole territory into ſquares of ſix miles, more or leſs, varying a little according to local circumſtances. Each of theſe ſections is to form what he calls a diſtrict.

The captain very juſtly obſerved, that this excellent land, for it is in general of the beſt quality, would ſoon find purchaſers, when its fertility ſhould come to be properly known. He made it therefore his firſt buſineſs, to eſtabliſh a mode of communication between Philadelphia and this new tract. Formerly perſons travelling to theſe parts were obliged to proceed hither by the way of Albany and New York; which cauſes a circuit of five hundred miles or more, that part of the road included which leads from Northumberland to Loyalſock, on the eaſtern arm of the Suſquehannah. Captain Williamſon has ſhortened this way by at leaſt three hundred miles. The new road likewiſe, which leads from Bath by Painted Poſt, is now continued as far as Williamſburg, while a by-road runs from Bath to Canandaqua, another from Bath to Geneva, and a third from Canandaqua to Great Sodus. In addition to theſe, ſeveral others have been made, which, though yet not much frequented, will in time become of great importance. For the uſe of this vaſt territory, the

Captain

Captain has already erected ten mills, namely, three corn and ſeven ſaw-mills, together with a great number of houſes; and he has begun, in ſeveral places, to clear the wood-lands. The conſiderable ſums, which, being ſufficiently rich for that purpoſe, he was under the neceſſity of advancing, before he could ſell an inch of ground, he juſtly conſiders as money laid out to the greateſt poſſible advantage.

He moreover put himſelf to the heavy expence of tranſporting eighty families hither from Germany; which ſhould have been ſelected from among the inhabitants of Saxony; but which his agent at Hamburgh choſe from among the crouds of foreigners, whom poverty, idleneſs, and neceſſities of every kind, induce to reſort to that mercantile city, with a view to emigration. Theſe families, which on their arrival here were placed on ſmall farms, have not however cleared the land allotted to them. Being maintained from the firſt out of Captain Williamſon's ſtores, they did not ſo much as work on the roads, which they were to finiſh; and their leader, the very agent, who had ſelected and brought them over, after having rioted for ſome time in idleneſs, drunkenneſs, and debauchery, at length ran away, with the whole ſet, to Canada; being gained

gained over, if we may believe common fame, by the Engliſh.

This ſiniſter incident, diſcouraging as it was to the Captain, engaged in buſineſs of great urgency and importance, did not however depreſs his ſpirits, or cool his zeal. The foreign labourers were inſtantly replaced by Iriſhmen, with a very conſiderable gain in point of the progreſs of labour, as well as of ſaving in the article of expence. The roads, which had been only begun, were ſoon put into good condition; and the land, which at firſt was ſold at one dollar per acre, in two years time ſold for three. The produce of about eight hundred thouſand acres, diſpoſed of in this manner by Captain Williamſon, have not only refunded the purchaſe-money, and the whole amount of the other expence incurred, but alſo, by his own confeſſion, yielded a nett profit of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling.

This great and rapid accumulation of property he, undoubtedly, owes to the money he at firſt advanced; but beſides the neceſſity of this money being laid out with judgment and activity, it was alſo requiſite, that, in addition to his other means of forwarding improvement, he ſhould be maſter of ſome ſubordinate advantages, without which, ſo rapid a return of his firſt diſburſe-

ments

ments was hardly to be expected. Captain Williamſon conſtantly reſides in the very centre of his ſettlements, which circumſtance, alone, gives him a very ſuperior advantage over all the great landholders, private ſpeculators, and trading companies, who reſide in towns; for theſe, being often engaged in ſtock-jobbing, which holds out conſiderable profit, nearer in proſpect than what can be obtained from the ſale of land, diſcourage purchaſers, either by ſubjecting them to enormous travelling charges, or obliging them to carry on a tedious correſpondence, in the courſe of which they have frequently to wait a long time before they can get a definitive anſwer, if they do not incur conſiderable unneceſſary expence to expedite the buſineſs.

Captain Williamſon, on the contrary, who is always to be found in the midſt of his poſſeſſions, and is ever attentive to ſee and anſwer thoſe who have buſineſs with him, frequently concludes a contract, and removes every difficulty, in the courſe of a few minutes converſation; ſo that the purchaſer, when he comes to view the land, being extremely pleaſed with the ſoil, the trifling purchaſe-money, the ſpeedy concluſion of the contract, and the good reception he has experienced from the Captain, on his return home imparts his ſatisfaction to his whole neighbourhood, and

and generally brings along with his own family ſome new ſettlers, who alſo win over other proſelytes in the like manner, and from the ſame motives.

2dly, Captain Williamſon's land is free from all diſpute or queſtion concerning its right of occupancy. His claims being ſtrictly legal, all his land is properly aſcertained and marked out. The purchaſers can, therefore, with entire ſecurity, extend at once, like Captain Williamſon, their operations over every part of their ſettlement. This is an important additional advantage in the ſale and purchaſe of land, which ever is but too little attended to by thoſe, who are engaged in ſpeculations of this nature.

3dly, His land, the price for an acre of which has gradually riſen from one dollar, to twelve ſhillings, two dollars, and at laſt to three dollars, is always ſold with a proviſo, that a number of acres be cleared, equal to the number of families which ſhall come to ſettle, within eighteen months. This clauſe is, however, only exacted from thoſe, who purchaſe a large quantity of land; they who buy ſmall ſhares of five hundred or a thouſand acres, are bound only to procure one family. No contract is concluded without this clauſe, which is of more importance, than at firſt ſight it appears to be; for every

every man, who poſſeſſes a piece of ground, the value of which is progreſſively encreaſing every year, will be ſolicitous not to forfeit the poſſeſſion of it, and conduct himſelf accordingly. However, if he ſhould ſell again before the expiration of eighteen months, the new purchaſer is rendered liable to the condition, and Captain Williamſon, who adheres to his original contract, and conſiders the land as mortgaged for the execution of it, reſumes the poſſeſſion of the ſhares then ſold, if the conditions of the ſale be not fulfilled. This rigorous meaſure is not purſued in caſes, where known obſtacles impede or protract the execution of the clauſe: for the Captain is too ſenſible, that it is his intereſt to act uniformly in a mild, juſt and condeſcending manner. The clauſe however can always be enforced, and is actually enforced often enough, to ſpur the indolence of ſuch purchaſers as need this incitement. It is, therefore, upon the whole, extremely well adapted to promote the ſucceſs of his undertaking. For, in proportion to the quantity of land already rendered fit for cultivation, will doubtleſs be the price of that which yet remains unſold.

4thly, The following are the Captain's terms of payment: to diſcharge half the purchaſe-money in three years after the firſt concluſion

of the contract, and the remainder at the expiration of ſix years. The payment of intereſt to commence from eighteen months after the period when the bargain is ſtruck. Theſe terms are remarkably advantageous to a purchaſer; for if he inſtantly ſet about clearing the ground, he may eaſily obtain the produce thereof, before the intereſt becomes due; nay, his crops may frequently procure him ſomewhat towards the payment of the firſt inſtalment. Such families, as are extremely poor, the Captain ſupplies occaſionally with a cow, an ox, or even a houſe to live in. But this generoſity he exerciſes with great prudence and diſcretion. He makes but few preſents of this nature, yet theſe are in ſufficient number, to invite coloniſts, by a well-founded reliance on his general character for benevolence; and hitherto none, but German families, have abuſed his kindneſs. Aſſiſtance ſo highly important can only be afforded by landholders, who reſide perſonally on their demeſnes. A proprietor, who is abſent from his eſtate, or a diſtant commercial company, can only act upon general principles, the application of which frequently leads to inconvenient expences, or has a tendency even to deprive the country of inhabitants, who alone can give it agricultural or political importance.

5thly,

5thly, Captain Williamſon never eſtabliſhes a ſettlement, without having previouſly made ſuch arrangements, as ſhall ſecure a regular ſupply of proviſion to the inhabitants. His own ſtores, which however he does not ſeem to conſider as his own, are never opened, unleſs it ſhould happen, that ſettlers, from want of prudence or property, are expoſed to want. Were he to open them before, the induſtry of the inhabitants would be quickly relaxed; which in all new ſettlements it is highly neceſſary to foſter and ſtimulate. He employs the ſame means in ſuch ſettlements as are already formed; and this precaution, though not always neceſſary, is never attended with any loſs or damage, becauſe in a new country of ſuch vaſt extent, the prime neceſſaries of life are ſure at all times to meet with a ready ſale.

6thly, He encourages every new ſettlement by taking himſelf a ſhare in it. When five or ſix new ſettlers have formed the project of building their houſes together, he always adds one to them at his own expence, and which is much ſuperior to theirs. This expence, which at firſt ſight ſeems to carry with it an air of generoſity, or perhaps affectation, is in reality founded on the ſoundeſt policy. The ſhare, on which Williamſon builds, generally acquires ten times its

former value. A purchaſer or tenant ſoon appears; and the different houſes and mills, which he has erected, have hitherto, without exception, produced twice or three times as much as they coſt.

7thly, Once every year, at leaſt, he makes it a point, to viſit each of his ſettlements, and thus diffuſes activity by his preſence. This inſpection tends to promote the ſale of the land, and to enſure ſecurity and eaſe to the purchaſer. In addition to theſe prominent traits of his management, he employs all the various means, which the peculiarity of ſituation or other circumſtances may offer. Independently of the medical ſtores, which he keeps in all the chief places of his ſettlement, he encourages by premiums races, and all other games and paſtimes of young people. He is attempting likewiſe to eſtabliſh horſe-races, with a view to improve the breed of horſes, and keeps himſelf a ſet of beautiful ſtallions. Theſe horſes cover only the mares of proprietors, who muſt hire them, from motives which muſt be obvious to all who are converſant in ſubjects of this nature.

Captain Williamſon has now nearly put the finiſhing ſtroke to his great undertaking. Next autumn he propoſes to ſail for England, and to return the following ſpring with a choice aſſemblage

blage of horſes, cattle, and ſheep, of the beſt breeds he can obtain, and a collection of models of all implements of agriculture, the dimenſions of which are ſo nicely calculated, and ſo well made in that great country, where all uſeful arts, and eſpecially thoſe which relate to agriculture, have attained to an uncommon degree of perfection. Captain Williamſon will, therefore, not only procure to his extenſive poſſeſſions ſingular advantages over thoſe of other landholders, but alſo become the benefactor of America at large, whoſe agriculture he cannot fail to meliorate, by offering to her view improvements, ſanctioned by time and experience.

What I have related on this head is not merely the reſult of what we ſaw and heard from the Captain himſelf during our ſtay at Bath, but it tallies correctly with the information we afterwards collected at Geneſſee. Captain Williamſon is here univerſally reſpected, honoured, and beloved. How glorious, in my eſteem, is his career! How fortunate and enviable his deſtination! How much more important than that of a diſſipated courtier, or a mercenary ſtock-jobber! I too, not in a new country, but in France, where there is ſuch an ample field for uſeful exertion, formed ſimilar eſtabliſhments on my eſtates, by which I diffuſed activity and induſtry

all around me; I ſtudied to enrich the country, and to render it induſtrious and flouriſhing. I hoped, and expected, to encreaſe the felicity of my own ſituation, by adding to the comforts of my poor neighbours. Undertakings, which had no object but the welfare of my country, were beginning to be crowned with all the deſired ſucceſs, when I was ſuddenly obliged to relinquiſh that much loved country, to which I was rendering ſo much ſervice. I am now, alas! an exile; all my hopes have vaniſhed like a ſhadow. Solitarily I wander, without a country I can call my own: life, therefore, for me, is completely at an end. But no more of theſe reflections on what I was, and what I am: they are too painful.

To return to Captain Williamſon. The four days we remained here, we employed in viſiting the different ſettlements in the neighbourhood of Bath. This place has been fixed upon, to be the chief town of a county. The preſent county of Ontario, at the next ſitting of the Legiſlative Aſſembly of New York, is to be divided into two parts, one of which is to retain its former name of Canandaqua, from the chief town ſo called; and the other is to aſſume the name of the county of Bath, the chief place of which is to be the city of that name.

Mr.

Mr. Williamſon is, at preſent, building a ſchool, in Bath. This he intends to endow with ſome hundred acres of land, and to take upon himſelf the maintenance of the maſter, until the money, paid for the inſtruction of the children, ſhall be ſufficient for his ſupport. For good reaſons, the Captain has been for ſome time paſt enquiring after an able ſchool-maſter. He is alſo building a ſeſſions-houſe and a priſon. The preſent inn was likewiſe built by him; but he afterwards diſpoſed of it at a conſiderable profit. He is now building another, chiefly to excite proper emulation, and an Engliſhman already occupies a part of the unfiniſhed building, which, in addition to other conveniences, is alſo to contain a ball-room. Near Bath, on the other ſide of the Conhocton, he has erected a corn-mill, and two ſaw-mills; which works, from the great quantity of water at hand, are capable of conſiderable enlargement. He is likewiſe conſtructing a bridge, for the purpoſe of opening a free and uninterrupted communication with the country on the other ſide; it will alſo prove of eſſential ſervice to the road leading to Williamſburg, which runs along the foot of the mountains. Theſe mills, when finiſhed, will not coſt more than five thouſand dollars; and the Captain has already been offered for them twelve

thouſand five hundred dollars, beſides a ſhare of one hundred acres of land. He alſo poſſeſſes ſome ſmall farms in the vicinity of Bath. A good huſbandman, who was his neighbour in Scotland, ſuperintends theſe farms, which appear to me to be better managed, and better ploughed, than any I have hitherto ſeen. In all theſe ſettlements, he has at leaſt one eſtate reſerved for himſelf. The ſtock on all of them is remarkably good, and he keeps them in his own poſſeſſion, until he can oblige ſome of his friends with them, or handſome offers are made for them from other quarters.

To the different ſettlements already mentioned the Captain is now adding two others on Lake Ontario; one near Rondegut, on the river Geneſſee; and the other at Braddock, thirty miles farther inland. As there appeared ſome danger of a war breaking out between America and England, it is but very lately, that he carried this project into execution; and for the ſame reaſon the works at Great Sodus have alſo been much delayed. Laſt year General Simcoe, Governor of Upper Canada, who conſidered the forts of Niagara and Oſwego, which the Engliſh have retained, in violation of the treaty, as Engliſh property, together with the banks of Lake Ontario, ſent an Engliſh officer to the Captain, with

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an injunction, not to perſiſt in his deſign of forming theſe ſettlements. The Captain returned a plain and ſpirited anſwer, yet nevertheleſs conducted himſelf with a prudence conformable to the circumſtances. All theſe difficulties, however, are now removed by the proſpect of the continuance of peace, and ſtill more ſo by the treaty newly concluded. It is aſſerted, that the ſituation of Great Sodus, on the coaſt of this diſtrict, promiſes to afford ſafe and convenient moorings for ſhips, from the depth of the water, and that the poſt may alſo be eaſily fortified againſt an enemy. On conſulting the map, the great importance of ſuch a harbour to the United States, will be readily diſcerned, whether it be conſidered as a port for ſhips of war, or for merchantmen.

Hitherto I have ſpoken of Captain Williamſon merely in his public character, as founder of the moſt extenſive ſettlement, which has hitherto been formed in America. I ſhall now follow him into private life, where his hoſpitality and other ſocial qualities render him equally conſpicuous and amiable: and here it is but doing him common juſtice to ſay, that in him are united all the civility, good nature, and cheerfulneſs, which a liberal education, united to a proper knowledge of the world, can impart. We

ſpent

ſpent four days at his houſe, from an early hour in the morning until late at night, without ever feeling ourſelves otherwiſe than at home. Perhaps it is the faireſt eulogium we can paſs on his free and eaſy urbanity, to ſay, that all the time of our ſtay he ſeemed as much at his eaſe, as if we had not been preſent. He tranſacted all his buſineſs in our preſence, and was actively employed the whole day long. We were preſent at his receiving perſons of different ranks and deſcriptions, with whom the apartment he allots to buſineſs is generally crouded. He received them all with the ſame civility, attention, cheerfulneſs, and good nature. They come to him prepoſſeſſed with a certain confidence in him, and they never leave him diſſatisfied. He is at all times ready to converſe with any, who have buſineſs to tranſact with him. He will break off a converſation with his friends, or even get up from dinner, for the ſake of diſpatching thoſe, who wiſh to ſpeak to him. From this conſtant readineſs of receiving all who have buſineſs with him, ſhould any conclude, that he is influenced by a thirſt of gain, this ſurmiſe would be contradicted by the unanimous teſtimony of all who have had dealings with him, thoſe not excepted, who have bought land of him, which many of them have ſold again with conſiderable

advantage

advantage to themſelves. But were it even undeniable, that money is his leading or ſole object, it is highly deſirable, that all, who are ſwayed by the ſame paſſion, would gratify it in the ſame juſt, honourable, and uſeful manner.

The prices of all ſorts of proviſion, of cattle, and labour, in this diſtrict, are exactly the ſame as in the Friends' Settlement, or, at leaſt, ſo nearly the ſame, that it is needleſs to mention the difference. The price of carpenter's work is four pence a foot for hewn timber, and two dollars for ten ſquare feet in boarding the ſides of buildings, or covering them with ſhingles. It ſhould be obſerved, however, that all ſorts of merchandize are much dearer in the ſhops here than at Mrs. Hill's, at Friendſmill. The price of commodities in theſe new ſettlements depends, it may be ſaid, entirely on the honour of the trader; for he alone can ſupply the wants of the inhabitants, and the Americans never offer leſs than the ſeller demands. The prices of planks are higher at the Captain's mill than any where elſe. He takes ſeven dollars per thouſand for cutting them, and the mill, which is continually at work, can cut ſix thouſand in twenty-four hours time. He ſells them at the rate of nine ſhillings per hundred. Should he continue poſſeſſor of the mill for any length of time, it is his

his intention to lower the price. He obſerved to us, that if he were to do ſo at preſent, he ſhould diſcourage all the other inhabitants, who may have formed the deſign of conſtructing mills, and that the prices will ſoon be brought down by competition.

We are aſſured, that the climate here is much more temperate, both in winter and ſummer, than in Pennſylvania; that the winter ſeldom or never laſts above four months; that the cattle, even in that ſeaſon, graze in the foreſt without inconvenience; and that no proviſion of fodder is requiſite, during the winter, except for ſuch cattle as are to be fattened. Neither does the ſnow ever lie ſo deep as to cover all the herbs, which ſerve for their paſture.

Captain Williamſon has hitherto endeavoured, but in vain, to remove the objection of this diſtrict being rather unhealthy. In his opinion, the unhealthineſs aſcribed to it is nothing but the natural effect of the climate upon new ſettlers, and is confined to a few fits of fever, with which ſtrangers are uſually ſeized in the firſt or ſecond year after their arrival. It is certain, however, that the inhabitants all agree in this unfavourable report of their climate; notwithſtanding which crouds of new ſettlers reſort every year to this diſtrict. Thus much, at leaſt, we obſerved,

that

that marſhes and pieces of ſtagnant water are thickly ſpread over the face of the country; but theſe will, no doubt, be drained, as population and cultivation ſhall encreaſe; this however is and will for ſome time be unattempted; and moreover, the water for common drink is in moſt places unpleaſant and unwholeſome.

Though we ſlept at the inn, yet we ſpent the whole day, from morning to night, at Mr. Williamſon's, where we enjoyed more tranquillity than in the noiſy inn, which is no bigger than a ſparrow's neſt, and is always crouded with travellers. One night twenty-five of us ſlept in two rooms, in ſix beds, which rooms were, in fact, nothing but deſpicable corn-lofts or garrets, pervious to the wind and rain.

The habitation of the Captain conſiſts of ſeveral ſmall houſes, formed of trunks of trees and joiner's work, which at preſent make a very irregular whole, but which he intends ſoon to improve. His way of living is ſimple, neat, and good; every day we had a joint of freſh meat, vegetables, and wine. We met with no circumſtances of pomp or luxury, but found eaſe, good humour, and plenty. In the uſeful, yet comfortable, manner, in which the Captain lives, life may be ſecurely enjoyed, without diſturbing the enjoyments of others.

About

About twenty houſes compoſe, as yet, the whole of the town of Bath. It is built on one of the bays, which the Conhocton forms in its courſe. The banks of this creek are bounded on the oppoſite ſide by pretty high mountains, which are chiefly covered with pines and hemlock firs.

Our firſt intention was to have ſtopped at Captain Williamſon's only one day; in compliance with his wiſh, however, we added another, and neceſſity compelled us to ſtay a third. When on the point of ſetting out, I perceived that my horſe was lame; and though we were aſſured, that he might make the journey without the leaſt inconvenience, yet Captain Williamſon obligingly inſiſted on our ſtaying one day longer. We ſhould not have heſitated a moment to comply with this invitation, but for the uneaſineſs, which our delay might occaſion to our friend Blacons. Mr. Guillemard obviated this difficulty, by offering to proceed himſelf, and thus remove any anxiety of our friend. Mr. Dupetit-thouars and myſelf yielded, after this, with great pleaſure, to the earneſt and polite entreaties of the Captain.

Mrs. Williamſon, whom we had not ſeen for the firſt two days, made her appearance on the third at dinner. To judge from her deportment, timidity,

timidity, even to a degree of baſhfulneſs, had till then deprived us of her company. She is a native of Boſton, and was married there to the Captain, who, in the conteſt with Britain, had reſided at Boſton as a priſoner of war; being carried thither by a privateer, who captured the ſhip, on board of which he was a paſſenger, with a view to join his regiment. Mrs. Williamſon, it ſeems, had followed her huſband to Scotland, and afterwards to Geneſſee. She is yet but a young woman, of a fair complexion, civil, though of few words, and mother of two lovely children, one of whom, a girl three years old, is the fineſt and handſomeſt I ever ſaw. This our opinion we did not fail to report to her parents, which afforded them great ſatisfaction.

Friday, the 12th of June.

Our horſes, as well as ourſelves, being completely refreſhed and recovered, through the civility of the Captain, we at length quitted his hoſpitable dwelling, and took our leave, with mutual promiſes of epiſtolary correſpondence, and rendering each other every ſervice in our power —by which at leaſt my travelling companion, Dupetitthouars, and myſelf, could ſurely be no loſers.

After leaving Bath, we paſſed through a ſmall ſettlement,

ſettlement, conſiſting of about four Engliſh families, which arrived here from London only ſix months ago. They are chiefly ſawyers, who had been uſed to work for the cabinet-makers in that great metropolis. They now work for themſelves, and poſſeſs each an eſtate of about ninety acres. Theſe they have already begun to clear for cultivation, aſſiſting each other with their cattle and labour. They cannot fail, in time, to make their fortunes; and in the mean while they enjoy that ſtate of independence, which forms one of the beſt bleſſings of life, if accompanied with the means of ſubſiſtence. Their log-houſes have an appearance of cleanlineſs, neatneſs, and order, which plainly beſpeak theſe families to be Engliſh. To judge from the choice of their books, which form a part of their furniture, and from the converſation of ſome of them, they appear to be Methodiſts. Theſe new Engliſh ſettlers have, this year, already made maple-ſugar, and one of them the fineſt I have yet ſeen, even that of Aſylum not excepted. Two of the wives of theſe new ſettlers have already caught the fever, and not one of them appears to enjoy a good ſtate of health. Eighteen miles farther from Bath, we found another family, that came hither laſt autumn from Maryland, afflicted with a fever. Four miles farther on we ſtopped at one Mrs.

BEVER's, who was likewiſe laid up with an intermittent fever, the fits of which returned every day. This fever may, perhaps, be a tribute, paid but once to the climate, as Captain Williamſon thinks; but the country, excellent as it is in all other reſpects, carries, I think, undoubted marks of being unhealthy; ſuch as ſtagnant waters, phoſphoric exhalations, ſwampy creeks, bad water for drinking, and an abſolute ſcarcity of ſprings. Having ſome quantity of bark in our travelling-caſe, we gave a little of it to Mrs. Bever, with directions how to uſe it; we, at the ſame time, wrote a letter to Captain Williamſon, informing him of the diſtreſs of this family, and of their want of more bark. We entertain little doubt, but that the Captain will receive this intelligence as a firſt attempt to fulfil, on our part, the engagement we entered into when we took leave of him.

It will be eaſily conceived, that after we had given the poor woman this advice, her huſband ſhewed us all the reſpect, which men of the medical profeſſion generally receive in this country. Yet his demonſtrations of reſpect ceaſed, when we refuſed his repeated offers to pay us for the bark. Though we no longer appeared to Bever phyſicians of the uſual caſt, yet we were certainly deemed very knowing and clever, for ſeveral of

the ten or twelve perſons, who had repaired to this cottage for ſhelter and food, ſhewing us their wounds and contuſions, requeſted our advice concerning them. We recommended to them, to waſh their ſores with ſalt and water; and the ſimplicity of this remedy, which would perhaps have met with little approbation from European peaſants, did not here, in the leaſt, abate the high opinion, which theſe good people had conceived of our ſuperior knowledge. The company we met with at Mr. Bever's conſiſted of ſurveyors and ſome other perſons, who had ſurveyed land, which they intended to purchaſe on the heights of Lake Canandaqua.

I ſay *on the heights*, becauſe in that place a chain of mountains, about ten or twelve miles in length, ſeparates the water, which flows in a ſouthern direction, from that, which diſcharges itſelf into the river of St. Laurence.

We found, among theſe perſons, a young man, who about ſix weeks before had been bitten on the knee by a rattle-ſnake, while he was fiſhing on the banks of Lake Canandaqua. At firſt he did not feel much pain in the part affected; but an hour afterwards a ſwelling appeared, which gradually extended all along the leg to the foot, and both became ſo ſtiff, that he was unable to move them. A cure was effected

fected within the ſpace of only ſix days by the juice of ſnake-root laid on the wound and ſwelling, as a poultice, mixed with milk, together with a few drops of that juice, pure and unmixed, taken internally. Inſtances of ſuch bites occur but very ſeldom, and only, it ſeems, when the animal has been touched; otherwiſe it conſtantly retires, and may be killed by a blow with the ſlendereſt ſtick.

It is a common obſervation, that wild animals are leſs fierce in America than in other parts of the globe; the truth of this is confirmed by the teſtimony of ſuch as, from their reſidence in foreſts, are beſt qualified to poſſeſs ſatisfactory information. Wolves, bears, nay even panthers, moſtly flee before man; and the inſtances of their doing miſchief are ſo rare, that the very reality of it might be doubted.

The dangers, therefore, to which new ſettlers are expoſed, are not much to be apprehended. The ſevereſt misfortune, to which the inhabitants of the American foreſt are liable, is the loſs of their children in the woods. Theſe unfortunate infants, over whom it is almoſt impoſſible to keep conſtantly a watchful eye, are apt to run out of the houſe, which is ſeldom fenced the firſt year, and ſtraying from their homes are unable to find them again. In ſuch caſes, how-

ever, all the neighbours, nay perſons from the remoteſt parts, join in the ſearch after theſe little unfortunate creatures, and ſometimes they are found; but there are alſo inſtances of their being totally loſt, or diſcovered only when dead of hunger or fear.

Saturday, the 13th of June.

From Bever's we rode on, till we came to Captain METCALF'S, where we ſtopped for the night. He lives at the diſtance of eight miles from the former houſe, and keeps an inn. This diſtrict is called Watkinſtown, from ſeveral families of this name, who poſſeſs the greateſt property here. The road from Bath to Metcalf's habitation is generally bad enough, as is moſtly the caſe in a luxuriant ſoil, and eſpecially after a fall of rain; ſo that, where the roads are not properly made, the intereſt of the traveller muſt abſolutely claſh with that of the landowner.

Two miles on this ſide of Bever's houſe we had obſerved the commencement of a range of mountains, which appeared to us to ſeparate, in theſe parts, the waters of the Suſquehannah from thoſe of the lakes.

After we had paſſed the above Engliſh ſettlement near Bath, we met with no habitation but at diſtances of eighteen, twenty, and twenty-two miles.

miles. Between Metcalf's houſe and Canandaqua, however, the dwellings ſtand cloſer together. The lands, belonging to Captain Williamſon, terminate at Bever's houſe; all the ground thence to Canandaqua, and farther on, has been ſold by Robert Morris, or Meſſrs. Phelps and Gorham, who had purchaſed their demeſnes before Mr. Williamſon bought his. Metcalf, for inſtance, three years ago, purchaſed his eſtate from them for one ſhilling per acre. Of the one thouſand acres, he then bought, he has already ſold five hundred and upwards for from one to three dollars per acre, and ſome have fetched twenty-five dollars.

The profits, which are made by ſpeculations in land, all over America, and eſpecially in this neighbourhood, are great, beyond calculation. We paſſed, however, through ſeveral ſettlements, which were deſerted. Occurrences of this kind are common enough in new countries; and experience ſhews, that of ten new ſettlers, who, in the firſt inſtance join to clear and cultivate freſh grounds, at the expiration of a couple of years, one only will, for the moſt part, remain; and the *ſecond*, nay, at times, the *third* ſettlers are generally the beſt coloniſts. They take advantage of the labours and diſburſements of their predeceſſors, remain in the country, and

thus become truly uſeful to the ſettlement. Captain Metcalf, beſides his lands and inn, poſſeſſes a ſawmill, where four thouſand five hundred feet of boards are cut daily. Theſe boards he ſends on the Lake to Canandaqua, where they are ſold for ten ſhillings a thouſand feet. Wheat is ſold here for ſix ſhillings a buſhel, and Indian corn for four ſhillings. There is a ſchoolmaſter in Watkinſtown, with a ſalary of twelve dollars per month; all the families, that contribute to this ſtipend, have the right of ſending their children to his ſchool.

The road to Canandaqua is bad and miry, running for the firſt three miles conſtantly along water. A little farther on, where its direction is more elevated, it mends. The ſoil contains a ſtratum of black earth, a foot or more in depth. On travelling this road, we obſerved one or two extenſive tracts of ground, cleared by the Indians, but few habitations. The few ploughs we ſaw here were drawn by oxen. The woods are thick and lofty. Sugar-maple, black birch, oak, hickory, hemlock fir, and beech, are the moſt prevailing trees. The ague is a common diſorder in all theſe parts.

The Lake of Canandaqua, which we reached at the diſtance of four miles from the town, exhibits a very delightful aſpect. The banks are

not

not very low. The long and tedious ſameneſs of theſe woods, through which we had paſſed, contributed, probably, not a little to enhance the agreeableneſs of the proſpect now before us. On the oppoſite ſide of the lake is an orchard, where very conſiderable quantities of cyder are made for ſale at Canandaqua.

Sunday, the 14th of June.

Canandaqua is, as I have already obſerved, the chief town of the county of Ontario. It ſtands on the bank of the lake of the ſame name. On the ground, now occupied by the town, ſtood, four years ago, a ſingle factory, which carried on ſome trade with the Indians. The town conſiſts, at preſent, of forty houſes. The territory of this city, which contains about fifty thouſand acres, is one of the diſtricts, which belonged to the State of Maſſachuſetts, and were ſold prior to the contract concluded with Captain Williamſon. The town, although ſeated on an eminence, is not more healthy than the neighbouring country. Mr. de Blacons found here, laſt autumn, a great number of perſons afflicted with the ague. This was attributed to the uncommon wetneſs of the ſeaſon, and the ague, it was ſaid, had made its appearance during the rains. We are now here in the month

of June; and yet it rages as much, if not more, than it did laſt autumn. No alleviation of this afflicting circumſtance is, therefore, to be expected, except from time, and a gradual encreaſe of labour, cultivation, and population. The houſes in Canandaqua, though all built of wood, are much better than any of that deſcription I have hitherto ſeen in other cities. They conſiſt moſtly of joiner's work, and are prettily painted. In front of ſome of them are ſmall courts, ſurrounded with neat railings. Some of the inhabitants poſſeſs conſiderable property; among theſe are Meſſrs. Phelps and Gorham, for a long time paſt proprietors of theſe lands, or, to ſpeak more properly, their children; Mr. THOMAS MORRIS, ſon of Mr. Robert Morris of Philadelphia, and agent for his father in the management of a large tract of land, which he poſſeſſes in this neighbourhood, with other conſiderable diſtricts on the banks of the river Geneſſee, and beyond it, ſtill occupied by the Indians, but which he has acquired the right of purchaſing in preference to all other perſons; Mr. CHIPPING, director of the affairs of the United States with the Indians; and many others, whoſe names I have not been able to learn. There are two inns in the town, and ſeveral ſhops, where commodities are ſold, and ſhoes and other articles made.

made. The encreaſe of population, however, is not conſiderable in theſe new ſettlements; and there is at preſent a great deficiency of labouring men. The habitations in the adjoining diſtrict are but thinly ſcattered. The lands, as well as the town-ſhares, are, for the moſt part, the property of rich individuals, who reſide in towns, and having purchaſed them on ſpeculation, are unwilling to part with them until time ſhall have raiſed their value.

The only potable water in Canandaqua is obtained by pumps; but even this is indifferent, and no ſpring has yet been found in the town, or in its neighbourhood. There is not even a creek leſs than four or five miles diſtant; and there is, conſequently, no proſpect of eſtabliſhing any mills nearer the town.

The lands here are ſaid to produce as much wheat as is neceſſary for the conſumption of the inhabitants; the ordinary price of it is ſix ſhillings a buſhel. The woods contain but very few large trees, the ſcarcity of which, together with the want of ſaw-mills, is the reaſon why boards, when bought at the mill, coſt here ten dollars a thouſand. The price of land is three dollars per acre, without the town, and fifteen dollars within its precincts. The price of Indian corn, oats, &c. are much the ſame as at Friendſmill and Bath.

Day-

Day-labourers, whom it is difficult to procure, generally earn five ſhillings per day wages. During the laſt harveſt, however, Mr. Thomas Morris paid as high as ten ſhillings, beſides finding them in victuals. The land, although tolerably good, is inferior to what we ſaw in other parts of Geneſſee, which we traverſed. The average produce, in the firſt year of its cultivation, is from twenty to twenty-four buſhels of wheat per acre. They make uſe of the plough even in the firſt year. The oxen are good, becauſe moſt of the new ſettlers come from New England, and generally bring their cattle with them from that province. In our journey we met, near Canandaqua, ſeveral parties of American emigrants, more or leſs numerous, travelling to Niagara. One of them conſiſted of five or ſix families, who had with them, thirty-four head of cattle. Theſe travelling companies are very frequent; emigration from Niagara into the United States is alſo conſiderable, but leſs ſo than in the firſt-mentioned direction.

I had a letter to Mr. Chipping from General KNOX, which Mr. de Bhcons had delivered previous to our arrival. This letter procured us an Indian, who ſpoke the French language, and was to conduct us in our journey from Canandaqua to Niagara. He was accordingly ſent for by

by Mr. Chipping. We called at the houſe of that gentleman, to return him our thanks for this favour, and alſo to ſee ſome Indians, who were with him. He acts as agent for the United States, with all the nations bordering on Canandaqua.

Theſe Indians were about twelve in number, among whom were ſeveral chiefs of the tribe of Seneca Indians; one of them was RED JACKET, a warrior of no ſmall note among his countrymen. They paid Mr. Chipping a viſit, that is to ſay, they came to partake of his whiſky and meat. Such parties come very frequently, and, in general, merely for this, and no other purpoſe. On theſe occaſions they drink as much as they can, and, when ſatiated, a few bottles are generally diſtributed among the party, to take with them. We found them in a ſmall hut, behind the agent's houſe, which indeed reſembled a ſtable, rather than a houſe. Two of them lay on the ground, intoxicated to a high degree of inſenſibility. They were nearly naked, except that each wore a woollen apron, about a foot ſquare, faſtened to a girdle, to which it was again tied behind. From this girdle is ſuſpended that dreadful inſtrument, the ſcalping-knife; a ſmall knife, which they generally uſe to cut their meat. Their heads were not ſhaved, but the hair was

cut

cut very ſhort, and tied above in a braid, which is made to paſs through a ſilver pipe; their ears were quite bare, and adorned with a variety of ſmall rings. Some wore ſmall ſilver plates at the extremity of the noſe, which is generally conſidered as an ornament of diſtinction for the chieftains. They were all very cheerful, addicted to laughter, and full of glee. They appeared highly delighted with viewing us, and were moſt of them handſome looking men. One ſpoke a little Engliſh. As we expect to ſee whole tribes of Indians in the progreſs of our journey, I may perhaps hereafter be able to give a more ample and ſatisfactory account concerning them. As far as my knowledge and obſervation reach at preſent, it is merely the immoral policy of civilized nations, which has ſubjected theſe people to the loweſt rank in the ſcale of human beings. As long as they were ſuffered to remain in their ſavage ſtate, they were warlike and independent, wild, perhaps, yet humane. Now that the white people find it convenient, to attach them to their intereſts, they are ſeduced with money and whiſky, and rendered as brutal and debauched, as it is poſſible to make them. The odious and illiberal artifices practiſed by civilized nations, to render every thing ſubſervient to their intereſts only, make their vaunted ſuperiority appear the

more

more diſguſting to the eye of genuine philanthropy.

A little before our arrival, a party of Indians, from the neighbourhood of Le Bœuf, came to Captain Chipping's, to demand juſtice upon an American ſoldier, who had murdered two Indians, from motives of jealouſy and revenge. The buſineſs, however, was huſhed up by the payment of two hundred dollars for each Indian, which is the ſettled price of compenſation in ſuch caſes, and the ſoldier remained at liberty. Not ſo, however, when an Indian murders a white man: in this caſe, the aſſaſſin is delivered up to the Americans, and hanged. And thus it is that a people, which makes its boaſt of honeſty, juſtice, and equality, can connive at the moſt flagrant perverſion of juſtice, to the eternal diſgrace of both its executors and its victims! The treatment of the Indians, and the ſervitude of the negroes, have branded the fair face of American freedom with an odious ſtigma, which government, as ſoon as poſſible, ſhould ſtrain every nerve to efface. It is to be feared, however, that the cauſes will not be eaſily removed, connected as they are with one of the moſt powerful paſſions of the human breaſt—the love of money!

We hoped to find a good inn at Canandaqua, which

which is no unpleaſant thing in the Geneſſee country in general, but we were diſappointed. What reaſons could induce Mr. Blacons to prefer the ſecond inn, I could not learn, but it is certainly far inferior to the firſt. We put up, however, at the ſecond, though not without throwing ſome blame on our friend, who is, in general, more prudent in his counſel. Our diſſatisfaction was greatly encreaſed, when we were ſhewn into the corn-loft to ſleep, being four of us, in company with ten or twelve other men! But ſleep, the great balm of human uneaſineſs, ſoon calmed our minds.

My reſt, however, was ere long interrupted by a little circumſtance, which I ſhall mention, as it may ſerve to illuſtrate the habits of this country. This was the arrival of two new gueſts, who ſoon entered our loft; an old man, and a handſome young woman, who, I believe, was his daughter. Three rows of beds were placed in this large apartment, which half filled it; and there were two empty beds in the ſame row with mine.

In one of theſe the good old man lay down without undreſſing himſelf, and the young woman, thinking every one about her faſt aſleep, fell to ſtripping, which ſhe did as completely as if ſhe had been in a room by herſelf. No move-

ment

ment on my part interrupted the buſineſs of her toilette, although I could not fall aſleep again until the candle was put out. This little anecdote, at which European coyneſs will no doubt either ſcoff or laugh, ſhews, in an advantageous light, the laudable ſimplicity and innocence of American manners.

Laſt night, we rejoined Blacons at Canandaqua; and this morning Dupetitthouars left us, to proceed ſtraight to Conawango, where the Indian, who ſpeaks French, is waiting for us. We ſet out with Blacons on our way to Ontario, intending to take a view of an eſtate belonging to one Mr. PITT, of which we had heard much talk throughout the country. On our arrival, we found the houſe crowded with Preſbyterians: its owner attending to a noiſy, tedious harangue, delivered by a miniſter, with ſuch violence of elocution, that he appeared all over in a perſpiration. We found it very difficult to obtain ſome oats here for our horſes, and a few haſty morſels for our own dinner. As we had no opportunity of viewing the eſtate, we were obliged to content ourſelves with the fine proſpect of the neighbouring grounds, which the houſe afforded. The fields are in a better ſtate of cultivation than any we have hitherto ſeen, and thoroughly cleared of wood.

This

This eſtate has been only five years under cultivation. Old Mr. Pitt and his two ſons poſſeſs about nine hundred acres, one hundred and thirty of which are cultivated. Theſe beautiful fields were cleared long ago by the Indians. Of the above one hundred and thirty acres juſt mentioned, ſixty are laid out in meadows, on which clover and timothy-graſs are ſown. Their ſtock conſiſts of ſixty or ſeventy head of cattle, of which they ſell very little, as they wiſh to augment their number by breeding. The firſt crop of their meadows yields two tuns of hay per acre, and the ſecond is fed off by the cattle. The winter does not laſt here above three months and a half, during which, the live ſtock kept near the houſe are fed with hay, morning and evening, in the farm-yard. The dung-cart very rarely viſits the land. Its average produce is twenty buſhels of wheat, and thirty-five buſhels of Indian corn, per acre. The price of wheat is ſix ſhillings, and of Indian corn and oats three ſhillings per buſhel. The price of cattle is the ſame, as in the places before mentioned. Labouring men earn five ſhillings a day wages, without victuals. The ſaw and corn-mills lie at a conſiderable diſtance from this houſe. The firſt is eight miles, the ſecond twelve miles diſtant. Corn and flour are tranſported on ſledges, during the winter.

All

All the corn-fields, as well as grafs-lands, had a fine appearance, and feemed to be under excellent management. Yet a view of the handfome married and unmarried women, who filled the church during both morning and evening fervice, was even more delectable to our fenfes, than the fine rural fcenery.

We ftopped at Captain WATWORTH's to pafs the night. Along the whole route from Canandaqua, the woods appear beautiful to the eye, but are not fo crowded with trees as on the other fide of that place. Several parts of the foreft have been burnt down by the Indians, who poffeffed this country from time immemorial. We frequently traced or met with Indian *camps*, as they are called, i. e. places where troops of them, who were either hunting or travelling, had paffed the night. Their tents or huts are nothing in the world but four poffs, driven into the ground, and overlaid with bark. In this day's journey we paffed by the extremity of four lakes, viz. of Hemlock, Conefus, Honeygoe, and Conhocton.

We were much concerned at our difappointment in not finding Mr. Thomas Morris at Canandaqua. But a young gentleman of the name of WICKHAM, who feemed to be his clerk, and lives in his houfe, received us with as much civility as he could have done himfelf. In addition

to other kind offices, he gave us a letter to Captain Watworth, a nephew of Colonel Watworth of Connecticut, who lives in Ontario, and is concerned with Mr Thomas Morris in the purchaſe of lands.

Our letter of introduction obtained us, as we expected, an invitation to ſleep at the Captain's. On our arrival, he told us, that he was obliged to ſet out early the next morning for Canandaqua, to review a party of ſoldiers, over whom he is captain. Two minutes after this the Captain got on horſeback, to ſee a friend, as he told us, though it was then eight o'clock at night. This conduct, in France, would have juſtified a ſuſpicion, that the maſter of the houſe was diſpleaſed with the viſit of his gueſts. With ſome latitude it might, perhaps, have borne the ſame conſtruction in America; but we found it more convenient to aſcribe it to an uncommon love of eaſe, and freedom from reſtraint. There was no inn in the neighbourhood; and, as we found our ſituation not at all the worſe, but rather better for this his behaviour, we endeavoured to make ourſelves on our part as agreeable as we could. As to his habitation, it is a ſmall log-houſe, as dirty and filthy as any I have ever ſeen. Whether the offenſive ſmell, which infected this dwelling, proceeded from cats or decayed ſtores, which the Captain is

reported

reported to keep ſometimes till they become putrefied, I am unable to determine; but, this is certain, that we never paſſed the night in a more unpleaſant hole. The beds, bedding, ſheets, fowls, room, ſmell, &c. in ſhort, every thing was nauſeous, ſo much ſo, indeed, as to render the houſe extremely diſagreeable. I roſe early in the morning to ſee the Captain, before he ſet out on his journey. I found him undergoing the operation of hair dreſſing by his negro woman. He had juſt ſold a barrel of whiſky to an Indian, and was treating about the ſale of ſome land with two inhabitants of Williamſburg.

The price of the Captain's land is from two dollars to two and half per acre; at leaſt, this is the price at which he offers it for ſale. He demands payment of the whole ſum agreed for within four years, or one fourth of the purchaſe-money every year. The intereſt to commence the firſt day after the ſale. It may eaſily be conceived, that Captain Watworth is not a little jealous of the great character and influence of Captain Williamſon, who, from his terms of ſale being far more moderate, and other circumſtances, cannot but have, and actually has, greatly the advantage over him.

We learned, in this place, that the Geneſſee flats are, every year at the end of March, regu-

larly inundated for four or five days by the river of that name, which flows through them, and depoſits on the land a bed of ſlime, about two or three inches deep; this ſerves as an excellent manure to the ſoil, and greatly promotes its fertility. Inſtances are known of one acre having produced fifty buſhels of wheat; but the average crop is thirty buſhels per acre. Very little of this land has been vended yet; as the proprietors do not care to part with it, until an increaſe of population ſhall have added conſiderably to its value. It is very difficult to procure day-labourers here, and their wages are one dollar per day. Maple-ſugar, of which great quantities are uſually obtained in this neighbourhood, has not anſwered this year, from the uncommon wetneſs of the ſeaſon. It is ſold for one ſhilling a pound. Many commodities, together with numerous droves of cattle, are exported hence annually into Upper Canada. The Captain, who keeps a ſhop, imports his goods from Connecticut. They are brought in waggons, drawn by oxen, which he afterwards fattens, and, by ſelling them at Niagara, amply indemnifies himſelf for any loſs he may ſuſtain from the long carriage of his wares. The beef of the oxen thus fattened is ſold, at times, for one ſhilling a pound.

After the Captain had left us, his nephew, a youth

youth about fifteen years of age, conducted us to the flats, or low grounds, which border on the river Geneſſee. They are a tract of land, about five or ſix miles in length and breadth, for the moſt part ſituate on the eaſt-ſide of the river; yet ſome are on the other ſide. Captain Watworth poſſeſſes about fifteen or ſixteen hundred acres; of theſe ſome are cultivated, but much the greater number lie in graſs, which was as high as our horſes. The flats belong, for the moſt part, to the Indians; but, as they are ſituate within the limits of the territory lately ceded by Great Britain, which extend to the river St. Lawrence, the State of Maſſachuſetts claims the ſupreme right to the property, and, in virtue of this right, has ſold to Meſſrs. Phelps and Gorham the excluſive privilege of purchaſing theſe lands from the Indians, whenever they ſhall conſent to part with them. Meſſrs. Phelps and Gorham have ſold this privilege of purchaſe to Mr. Robert Morris, by whom it has been again ſold to the Dutch Company; this gentleman has alſo engaged to open a negociation with the Indians, and to prevail upon them to relinquiſh their right to a part at leaſt of theſe lands. Thus four different ſets of puchaſers have ſucceeded each other in regard to an object, concerning the ſale of which the conſent of the

true original owners has not yet been obtained; and four different contracts have been entered into, founded on the ſuppoſition, that it will be an eaſy matter to remove the Indians from theſe diſtant corners into which they have retired. It is ſome ſatisfaction, however, to reflect, that the property of theſe lands cannot be actually transferred without their conſent; but this, alas! is very eaſily obtained, as their more poliſhed neighbours well know. A little whiſky will bribe their chieftains to give their conſent to the largeſt ceſſions; and theſe rich lands, this extenſive tract of territory, will be bartered away, with the conſent of all parties, for a few rings, a few handkerchiefs, ſome barrels of rum, and perhaps ſome money, which the unfortunate natives know not how to make uſe of, and which, by corrupting what little virtue is yet left among them, will, ere long, render them completely wretched. Yet, on the other hand, it will not be diſputed, that, if America were to become more populous; and if, in proceſs of time, this immenſe region could, by fair means, and on reaſonable terms, be obtained from the honeſt and peaceful natives, and duly cultivated; ſuch a meaſure would doubtleſs promote the general good of America, and even conduce to the intereſts of mankind at large. At preſent, ſcarcely the twentieth part of this

this vaſt continent is inhabited, unleſs nineteen uncultivated parts, ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Indians, be ſo conſidered. In a word, it may be queſtioned, whether, even in the caſe of all America being peopled with European ſettlers, the ſignal benefits, to be derived from the cultivation of ſuch extenſive tracts of land, might not be obtained honeſtly and honourably, without driving the original inhabitants out of their poſſeſſions, or at leaſt without thus palpably impoſing upon them.

The huſbandry of the Indians is confined to the culture of a little Indian corn, and ſome potatoes. The produce of one or two acres is fully ſufficient for the maintenance of a whole family. Their extenſive meadows they leave to ſuch ſettlers, as chooſe to paſture their cattle on the graſs, or to cut it for hay; nay, they even ſuffer them to be cultivated and incloſed by freſh coloniſts, who are continually removing weſtward. Property, whether real or perſonal, has with them no value; and the meadows, which at preſent only produce from four to five tuns of hay per acre, would yield the richeſt crops of various kinds of produce, and throw into cultivation vaſt quantities of marketable and uſeful commodities. To reduce an acre of ground under ſkilful cultivation, is, to confer a benefit on the maſs of civi-

lized ſociety. This is an admitted principle of political œconomy. But here unfortunately it happens, that the ground, even when taken out of the hands of the Indians, is not immediately reduced to a proper ſtate of cultivation. It frequently continues long in the hands of mercenary ſpeculators, who chooſe neither to ſell nor cultivate it, until its value ſhall have been conſiderably enhanced. As an ultimate conſequence of this conduct the poor Indians will be harraſſed, gradually expelled from their homes, and, in the end, either extirpated, or rendered completely miſerable.

In the courſe of our twelve miles excurſion to the flats we aſcended two eminences, from which we had a view over the whole plain; one of theſe, called Squawhill, lies nearer to Ontario, and the other, Mountmorris, to Williamſburg. They both contain Indian villages. That ſituate on the former height conſiſts of about fifteen, and that ſeated on the latter. of about four or five ſmall log-houſes, ſtanding cloſe together, roughly built, and overlaid with bark. In the inſide appears a ſort of room not floored; on the ſides they conſtruct ſhelves, covered with deer-ſkins, which ſerve as their cabins or ſleeping places. In the midſt of the room appears the hearth, and over it is an opening in the roof to let out the ſmoke.

ſmoke. Their ſtores, conſiſting, for the moſt part, of nothing but Indian corn and the fleſh of deer, lie careleſsly thrown together in a corner. One of their huts not unfrequently contains two or three families.

As we paſſed through their villages we ſaw ſome women employed in works of huſbandry, but very few men. Among the Indians the huſband does not work at all; all laborious ſervices are performed excluſively by the wife. She not only tranſacts every part of domeſtic buſineſs, but cultivates the ground, cuts wood, carries loads, &c. The huſband hunts, fiſhes, ſmokes, and drinks. Yet there are ſome tribes, ſuch as, for inſtance, the Tuſcarora-Indians, among which the huſband works, though occaſionally and ſlightly. When I ſpeak of Indian tribes or nations, I wiſh to be underſtood as confining my obſervation to the ſix nations, commonly called the Iroquois, who inhabit the northern parts of North America, to the ſouth of Lake Ontario, namely, the Onandagas, Tuſcarora, Oneidas, Cayugas, Seneca, and Mohawks. The Oneida nation excepted, which, northwards from New York, ſtill inhabits the banks of the lake that bears their name, all the other tribes have been gradually expatriated, and have decreaſed in number; every nation is now divided into different branches;

branches; the families are diſperſed abroad, and whiſky is rapidly thinning the number of thoſe which yet remain. A few years more, and theſe nations will diſappear from the ſurface of the earth, as civilized people approach!

Near the Geneſſee, on this ſide of that river, and about five miles below the villages before-mentioned, ſtands another village belonging to Indians of the Oneida nation. The men are here leſs ſlothful than among the Seneca-Indians; they are alſo tolerably ingenious and expert. It ſhould be recorded highly to their honour, that the Indians, of whatever tribe or nation, are in general mild and peaceful, kindly officious in little ſervices to the whites, and, on the whole, excellent neighbours. I for my part am pretty well aſſured, that, in all the numerous quarrels, which have taken place between the different coloniſts and the Indians, on the confines of the United States, in ninety-nine inſtances out of a hundred the former have been the aggreſſors; they are weak, and they are oppreſſed.

In Mountmorris Mr. Morris poſſeſſes a farm of about ſixty acres, the management of which he leaves entirely to an Iriſhman, who arrived here about two years ago, from New England. The wheat, rye, and Indian corn are certainly excellent; but the account this man gave us of the

the nature and quality of the ſoil does not correſpond with Captain Watworth's ſtatement. It yields, he ſays, only twenty-five buſhels of wheat per acre; and as this perſon is not concerned in the ſelling of land, I judge his report to be much more deſerving of credit, than the Captain's. It muſt be allowed, however, that the land here is uncommonly productive, that the flats form a very extenſive tract of ground, and that they afford a fine proſpect, which cannot but be extremely pleaſing even to thoſe, who have not been cloyed, as we were, with the eternal aſpect of foreſts and woods. Mr. Morris, it ſhould ſeem, had eſtabliſhed this farm rather with an intention to exerciſe and ſecure his right of property, than from any immediate views of profitable culture. Its preſent occupier enjoys the produce but of a very ſmall portion of this vaſt territory. Neither his habitation, nor his eſtabliſhment in general, impreſſes you with the idea of a reſpectable farmer.

Returning from our excurſion, we paſſed through Williamſburg, the central point of Captain Williamſon's ſettlements in this neighbourhood. It is a village conſiſting of about twelve houſes. The habitations are ſaid to be very numerous in the adjacent country. Williamſburg is ſeated on the point, where Canaſeraga creek diſcharges

diſcharges itſelf into the river Geneſſee. This river, as well as the creek, which on our excurſion we were ſeveral times obliged to ford, are ſo cloſely hemmed in, that frequently it is very difficult to ſcale their banks. The courſe of the river Geneſſee is rapid, and full of windings, its water alſo is generally muddy, and bad.

Three miles from Captain Watworth's habitation, a Frenchman, formerly an inhabitant of St. Domingo, reſides, with his mulatto, on an eſtate of about twenty acres, and in a houſe only twelve feet ſquare, which he conſtructed himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of his faithful ſervant. This Frenchman is named De Boui, and is a native of Alſace. A quarrel with a gentleman of conſequence in his province, whom he accuſed of having defrauded him of an inheritance, and a duel that enſued, in which he wounded his antagoniſt, who was much older than himſelf, compelled him, in the prime of youth, to quit his native country, from the dread of a "*lettre de cachet.*" The firſt ſtep, which he took after this, was to enliſt, as a private, in the regiment, which bears the name of the Cape; and in this ſituation he ſoon evinced by his conduct, that he had received a liberal education. He next obtained his diſcharge; and as he had been originally deſtined for the profeſſion of an engineer, his attainments,

which

which were very respectable, furnished him with the means of rendering himself useful to the colonists. By degrees he rose to the situation of *Grand Voyer* (inspector general of the high-roads) in St. Domingo: he moreover cultivated a plantation, bequeathed to him by a friend. He now possessed a good income, and had a fine prospect of acquiring a very handsome property, when on a sudden the civil dissentions at the Cape broke out. Being forced to quit the town, he retired to America, though in a very indifferent plight, with but little money, few effects, and some bills on France. From motives of parsimony, he proceeded to Hartford. Here Colonel Watworth, commiserating his misfortunes, and his distressed situation, made him an offer, that he would endeavour to negociate his bills, in which he should probably meet with less difficulties than an emigrant Frenchman; he at the same time made Mr. de Boui a temporary grant of a certain number of acres on the river Geneseee, engaging to supply him with the necessary money and stores, and to render him every other assistance in his power. The bills were to serve as a security for all the previous disbursements. Such is the outline of the history of Mr. de Boui.

There are but few men, I should suppose, who do not feel themselves agreeably interested by the sight

ſight of a countryman in a remote part of the world. Unhappily the French revolution has in a great meaſure ſtifled theſe amiable, natural feelings. If two Frenchmen now meet, they are, in general, ſo ſoured by political partialities, that they feel a mutual diſtruſt, if not averſion. Thanks to heaven, the revolution and its concomitant evils have not yet inſpired me with hatred to any individuals, much leſs have they ſoured my feelings to miſanthropy. This is a comfort, which I highly prize, and to which, even in my preſent ſituation, I am indebted for moments, not altogether unaccompanied with pleaſure. I, therefore, ſincerely ſympathiſed in Mr. de Boui's misfortunes. Meſſ. Blacons and Dupetitthouars became acquainted with him laſt year. Blacons was deputed by the reſt of us to inform this hermit, a name, which he deſerves as well as any man living, of our intention to dine with him that day. De Blacons' viſit, and our arrival, afforded him much pleaſure and ſatisfaction. The ſight of his countrymen was the more agreeable to him, as from a peeviſhneſs of temper, either contracted by prior misfortunes, or becauſe he has been actually ill uſed, he is highly diſſatisfied with the Americans. He is about forty years of age, poſſeſſed of a ſound underſtanding, and entertaining in his manners and converſation. From

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the natural generoſity of his own mind, his diſguſt at the ſelfiſhneſs of others, and his over-nice feelings, he is a perfect miſanthrope; a conſtant gloom hangs upon his ſpirits. He ſpeaks of Americans with a bitterneſs, which can hardly be juſtified when applied to individuals, but evidently degenerates into prejudice and injuſtice when applied to the nation at large. He lives here, ſequeſtered from all the world, or at leaſt with no other company, but that of his mulatto Joſeph; who has never left him, and is indeed his friend, rather than his ſervant. Joſeph acts in the different capacities of cook, gardener, and huſbandman, for Mr. de Boui ſows one or two acres in the flats with Indian corn, half the produce of which he allows the proprietor; he takes care of the fowls and pigs, and works at times for the neighbours, that they may, in return, lend their oxen occaſionally to his maſter, and ſupply him with eggs, milk, and other ſuch like articles, which, though trifles in themſelves, are of no ſmall value in this ſolitude. Joſeph always appears buſy and cheerful: he is, in fact, a rare and affecting inſtance of the moſt faithful attachment to his maſter, who, in return, ſets a high and juſt value on this reſpectable ſervant, without whoſe aſſiſtance and ſupport his philoſophy would be of little

little avail. Mr. de Boui is a man of extenſive reading, but the moroſity of his temper frequently diſtorts his ideas. He hates mankind, and therefore is conſtantly ſullen and wretched.

Dupetitthouars, who rejoined us there, and myſelf, ſtopped the night at the habitation of this worthy gentleman, becauſe he ſeemed to wiſh it. Meſſ. Guillemard and Blacons, however, took up their night-quarters in Canawaga, with a view to get every thing ready for our journey to Fort Erie. We paſſed the afternoon and next morning in converſation with our hoſt, and in taking little walks, eſpecially to a ſmall Indian village already mentioned, with which De Boui holds a frequent intercourſe of civilities, ſervices, and trade, and where at times, when there is a preſs of buſineſs on his hands, he alſo hires labourers to weed his garden: theſe are women, whom he pays at the rate of three ſhillings a day. We left him, not without a high ſenſe of gratitude for the kind and friendly reception we had met with, nor did he ſeem altogether inſenſible to a degree of ſatisfaction afforded by our company. He may perhaps prove, ere long, a very valuable acceſſion to the ſettlement at Aſylum.—May he live there, if not happy, at leaſt content; but it is greatly to be feared, that the peeviſhneſs of temper

per, which this unfortunate man has contracted, will dry up every ſource of promiſed happineſs and comfort, which this world might yet afford!

Tueſday, the 16th of June.

The road from Ontario to Canawaga is a good one for this country. As uſual, it leads through the midſt of woods. Within a ſpace of twelve miles we ſaw only one habitation. In this journey we diſcovered two Indians lying under a tree; though we had already ſeen a conſiderable number of them, yet this meeting had for us all the attraction of novelty, as we found them in a ſtate of intoxication, which ſcarcely manifeſted the leaſt ſymptom of life. One wore round his neck a long and heavy ſilver chain, from which a large medallion of the ſame metal was ſuſpended, on one ſide whereof was the image of George Waſhington, and on the other the motto of Louis the Fourteenth—*nec pluribus impar*, with a figure of the ſun, which was uſually diſplayed with it in the French arms. This Indian was, no doubt, the chieftain of a tribe; we were, however, obliged to leave his excellency in a ditch, out of which we made repeated efforts to drag him, but in vain.

Canawaga is a ſmall town; Mr. Morris is the proprietor of the lands, which he holds on the

ſame condition of procuring their ceſſion from the Indians, as he does all the other lands already mentioned. The price of land here, which at firſt was one ſhilling and ſix pence per acre, ſoon roſe to three ſhillings, and, by degrees, has been ſo enhanced, that ſingle acres, near the town, were lately ſold for eight dollars. The habitations here are yet but few, but among them is one of the beſt inns we have ſeen for ſome time paſt. Mr. BERRY keeps it; a good, civil man, but conſtantly inebriated. In common with ſeveral other inhabitants of the town, he has bought land from the Indians, regardleſs of the prior right of purchaſe, veſted in Mr. Morris by the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts. Without any wiſh to vindicate this prior right, which, in my judgment, conſidered with reſpect to the Indians, the original proprietors of the ſoil, is an act of flagrant injuſtice, I cannot help obſerving, that this right, founded as it is on the laws of the land, cannot be infringed by private individuals, without expoſing themſelves to the hazard of being diſpoſſeſſed, and that in ſtrict juſtice, of the lands, purchaſed in violation of this right. The perſons here alluded to, who have bought land from the Indians, are perfectly aware of the ſlippery ground on which they ſtand; but hope, that as the affairs of Mr. Morris are rather in a ſtate of derangement,

ment, he will not be able to make good his purchaſe of the lands from the Indians; hence they are led to conclude, that the contract, by which he has transferred his right to the Dutch company, muſt eventually become void.

This whole track of land is, as yet, ſo thin of inhabitants, that we could not come at a right eſtimate of the price of proviſion, labourers' wages, &c. Both labourers and proviſion are equally ſcarce; and the prices are, I preſume, not much different from thoſe in the diſtricts I mentioned laſt. The neighbourhood of the Indians occaſions a frequent intercourſe with them, for the purpoſe of buying game, fiſh, &c. and though they are no ſtrangers to the value of money, and appear fond of it, yet ſcarcely any buſineſs is tranſacted with them, unleſs in the way of barter. Whiſky is their chief object; but old clothes, hats, knives, looking-glaſſes, paints, &c. in ſhort, almoſt every commodity, the refuſe of European markets, will do for them; and it may be advanced as a moral certainty, that the white people can hardly become loſers in this traffic. The Indians, indeed, to ſpeak a well known truth, are conſtantly cheated; their ignorance lays them open to fraud, and it is taken advantage of almoſt ninety-nine times in a hundred, by thoſe who have dealings with them.

Before I quit this country, which is more or leſs inhabited by ſubjects of the United States, I ſhall preſent the reader with a few general obſervations on their manners and cuſtoms, which may ſerve as a ſupplement to thoſe I made on my arrival at Northumberland. Since that time we have traverſed a country altogether new: the various ſettlements, which lie more or leſs cloſely together, and are occupied by coloniſts from all parts of the world, afford nothing particularly worthy of obſervation. It ſeems to be the chief object of the inhabitants of this new country, to raiſe the price of their labour as high as poſſible, and then to ſpend their earnings in unneceſſary trifles, as faſt as they can. From this prevailing humour we may readily account for the flouriſhing condition of the ſhops, or ſtores, as they are called. A labourer or his family goes to a ſhop, to lay out ſix-pence in ribbands, or two-pence in tobacco. Perhaps they have four dollars in their pockets, and with theſe, ſuch is the rage for ſhop commodities, they purchaſe articles, which, on entering the ſhop, they never intended to buy, and for which they have no real occaſion. Sometimes they purchaſe on credit; and the ſhopkeeper, who clears, at leaſt, one hundred per cent, has generally no objection to ſelling upon theſe terms to perſons who are houſekeepers

ers in the neighbourhood, or who work there for any length of time. The diſburſements of thoſe, who, in this new country, undertake to clear large tracks of ground, and at the ſame time keep a ſtore, are, therefore inconſiderable, eſpecially in regard to labourers' wages, as the money cleared in the ſhop quickly brings back all that is expended in labour for days, weeks, and months together. The ſtorekeepers too frequently take advantage of the credulity, eaſineſs of temper, and ignorance of the half-ſavage ſort of people, who inhabit the back ſettlements, and theſe in return abuſe the credulity, eaſineſs, and ignorance of the poor Indians. In fact the conduct of mankind at large is in general nothing more than a chain of frauds and impoſitions, only ſomewhat leſs barefaced than thoſe of the ſtorekeepers in the new American dominions.

I ſhall add a word or two on the methods practiſed by them in the management of theſe new ſettlements. When a family have come to a reſolution to ſettle in this country, the huſband, the latter end of ſummer, repairs to the ſpot where the ſettlement is to be made. The firſt thing he does is to cut down the ſmall trees on one or two acres; he next barks the larger trees, and then ſows a little rye or wheat. Of the

wood he has felled, he conſtructs a ſmall houſe, and makes ſuitable fences around it; a labour, which may be performed in about a month's time. He then returns to his former habitation; and, at the beginning of ſpring, he brings his family and the beſt of his cattle to the new ſettlement. His cows coſt him little, being turned into the woods to graze: he then finiſhes his houſe, plants potatoes, ſows Indian corn, and thus is enabled to provide for the firſt year's maintenance. While thus employed, he is at the ſame time clearing more ground, burning the trees he has already felled, and, as far as may be, even thoſe which he has barked. By this proceſs the roots of the buſhes are in a great meaſure deſtroyed; yet they require to be more carefully grubbed out of land, which is to be thoroughly cleared. The aſhes afford a very uſeful manure, and, in the opinion of the beſt judges, are employed this way to much greater advantage, than when converted into pot-aſh, the making of which is, with the new ſettlers, merely the reſult of neceſſity; for if a ſaw-mill be at hand, the large trees can be conveyed thither by oxen. Thus, within the ſpace of twelve months, a man may clear fifteen acres; and few families cultivate more than thirty. The barked trees are left ſtanding for a longer or ſhorter time,

according

according to circumſtances, viz. the ſpecies of the tree, the nature of the ſoil, and the degree of the wetneſs of the ſeaſon. The hemlock-fir will ſtand eight or nine years, the oak four or five, the maple three or four, and trees, all the branches of which have been burnt off, ſeldom fall before this time. The ſtumps of the felled trees, generally two or three feet high above the ground, hardly rot ſooner than the barked trees, which have been left ſtanding on the lands. The dwellings of new ſettlers are commonly at firſt ſet up in a very ſlight manner; they conſiſt of huts, the roofs and walls of which are made of bark, and in which the huſband, wife, and children paſs the winter, wrapped up in blankets. They alſo frequently conſtruct houſes of trees laid upon each other; the interſtices of which are either filled up with loam, or left open, according as there is more or leſs time to fill them up. In ſuch buildings as have attained to ſome degree of perfection, there is a chimney of brick or clay; but very often there is only an aperture in the roof to let out the ſmoke, and the fire is made and repleniſhed with the trunks of trees. At a little diſtance from the houſe ſtands a ſmall oven, built ſometimes of brick, but more frequently of clay, and a little

farther off appears a ſmall ſhed, like a ſentry-box, which is the neceſſary, or privy.

Salt pork and beef are the uſual food of the new ſettlers; their drink is water and whiſky, yet there are few families unprovided with coffee and chocolate.

We ſhould not omit to obſerve, that the axe, of which the Americans make uſe for felling trees, has a ſhorter handle than that of European wood-cutters. Not only the Americans, but Iriſh and German workmen have aſſured me, that they can do more work with this ſhort handled axe, than with the European. The blade likewiſe is not ſo large as that of the latter. Moſt of theſe axes are made in America, but conſiderable numbers are alſo imported from Germany.

Though ſome or moſt of the particulars above detailed may be found in works, which treat of the inland or back parts of America, yet I judge them not unworthy of a place in this journal.

Reſpecting the tenets or obſervances of religion, it ſhould ſeem that little room is left for a due attention to either, among the inhabitants of Pennſylvania and other parts of Geneſſee. In the towns, as well as in all parts of the country that are in any degree populous, there are, indeed, every where places appropriated to religious worſhip;

worſhip; but, unleſs I am greatly miſtaken, religion is generally conſidered rather as a political engine than a way to ſalvation. In the new ſettlements you meet frequently with religious books, but they contain the peculiar effuſions of different ſects, rather than the ſimple morality of ſcriptural religion. Prayer-books, with other devotional exerciſes of that deſcription, are chiefly found among the rigid Methodiſts, or fanatic Scotch Preſbyterians. Yet the bitterneſs and fanaticiſm of theſe ſects are rapidly wearing away in theſe foreſts. Chiefly taken up with clearing the ground, and anticipating in imagination the beneficial reſults of their labour, they ſoon forget all other concerns.

The coloniſts, who arrive from New England, are, upon the whole, more religious than any of the other inhabitants. They make a point of building churches, and providing preachers, as ſoon as circumſtances enable them to do ſo. Moſt of theſe religioniſts ſettle in the upper diſtrict of Geneſſee, and ſpeak with contempt of the ſettlements on the Suſquehannah, and in the neighbourhood of Tioga, where the inhabitants, far from having places of worſhip, ſcarcely ever mention the name of God. At the ſame time it muſt be admitted, that the planters, who come

come from New England, are purer in their morals than any of the reſt; and that they are not only remarkably induſtrious, but alſo the moſt expert agriculturiſts and workmen.

As to the fertility of the country in natural productions, it is very great indeed. In many parts, the trees are of a prodigious ſize and thickneſs. It is remarkable, that the largeſt trees ſeldom ſtrike their roots deeper than about four or five inches into the ground; this was at leaſt the caſe with all thoſe which had been overturned by the winds, and lay near the road. The thickets are frequently ſo cloſe, that, for ſeveral miles together, they bear the appearance of one large tree, under which graſs is growing in thick tufts and cluſters. Fern, a ſight rare in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, is very frequently in the back ſettlements. Shrubs of every deſcription, and flowers of various forms and hues adorn the woods and pleaſe the eye with their beautiful appearance, but do not ſo much regale the traveller with their fragrance. They more or leſs reſemble European plants; but are in general of different ſpecies.

Among the great variety of inſects and flies ſeen here, which alone would furniſh abundant matter of enquiry for the curious naturaliſt,

luminous

luminous worms are so very numerous, as frequently to diffuse by night a brightness, which is really astonishing.

The town of Canawaga is situated on the river Genessee, the course of which we have followed without deviation ever since we left Ontario. By the Indians this river is called Cashousiagon. We much regret, that we did not see the three falls of this river, which are but half a quarter of a mile distant from each other; the first is one hundred, the second thirty, and the third seventy feet high; they are all two hundred and fifty feet in breadth. This river, which empties itself into Lake Ontario, previously forms a very small lake of uncommon depth, which also is discharged into Lake Ontario by a narrow channel, not very deep. The appearance of these falls is said to be extremely grand and beautiful; we felt a strong inclination to visit them; but Mr. Blacons expressing an earnest desire to hasten his return to Asylum, and to see the Niagara, we sacrificed to his wishes our own curiosity with respect to the falls of the river Genessee.

Wednesday, the 17th of June.

After remaining half a day at Canawaga, we at length set out, early in the morning, to traverse

verſe the deſarts, as they are called. The guide, procured by Mr. Chipping, as already mentioned, had been waiting for us two days. This man, a native of Canada, who, according to falſe reports, had adopted the manners and cuſtoms of the Indians, from love for a *ſquaw* (the term for an Indian woman) of whom he was exceſſively fond, did not, on a nearer acquaintance with him, anſwer any of the romantic, or at leaſt extraordinary ideas, we had been led to form of him. During the American war, he had ſerved for ſome time in an Engliſh regiment in Canada; but having found an opportunity to deſert, he ſettled in the American dominions on the banks of the Geneſſee. He has been enabled to ſave a little money by means of a ſmall trade, which he carried on, and eſpecially by ſelling whiſky to the Indians; after this he became acquainted with an Indian girl, tolerably handſome, whom he married, after ſhe had borne him ſeveral children; that is to ſay, he declared her his wife in the Indian manner; an obligation, however, which binds him no longer than he himſelf chooſes. According to his own account, he poſſeſſes a ſmall eſtate in the diſtrict of Geneſſee, and another much larger in Tonowanté (an Indian village equally diſtant from Niagara and Canawaga), which PONDRIT (our guide)

guide) purchaſed of the Indians for ſome gallons of whiſky, and which he can enlarge, at pleaſure, as every one there is at liberty to appropriate to himſelf any quantity of land he thinks proper. This man, as far as we could judge, appears to have ſettled among the Indians from motives not the moſt praiſe-worthy, viz. lazineſs and indolence; he would rather, it ſeems, let his wife work, than do ſo himſelf, gain money without care or toil, and by his ſuperior knowledge overreach the Indians in the ſmall trade he carries on with them. In other reſpects he is a free, jovial fellow enough, proud, good-humoured, artful under the appearance of aukwardneſs; and in brief, not a little like many of the French peaſants, who, after having ſerved ſome time in a regiment, return to their native village with a tolerable ſtock of ſelf-confidence and aſſurance, which, if not blended with a due regard to conſcience and morals, frequently degenerates into impudence, and ſometimes draws them in the end, into a licentious and reſtleſs way of life. Under the guidance of this Pondrit, who, by the by, was not even dreſſed as an Indian, we ſet out on our journey. He led a horſe that belonged to him, and was loaded with our ſtores, which Indian guides generally trudge with on their backs.

About

About a mile and a half from Canawaga, ſtands a ſmall village of the Seneca Indians, through which we paſſed, conſiſting of only three or four houſes. We found there again a handſome young man, who had viſited us the night before in Canawaga. It was obſervable, that theſe Indians ſhewed a ſtrong attachment to us as Frenchmen, repeatedly aſſuring us, that the remembrance of our nation was peculiarly dear to them; we in return regaled them plentifully with rum. The young man, who was more intoxicated than his comrades, was ſeized every now and then with fits of madneſs, which might have proved fatal to himſelf or thoſe about him, but for the careful attendance of a young ſquaw, who, partly by menaces, and partly by careſſes, got him out of the inn, cauſed his arms to be tied by his comrades, and carried him to the banks of the river, where, leſs diſturbed ſhe continued her attendance, until ſhe had ſoothed his rage, though he was not perfectly reſtored to his ſenſes. An Indian waſhed the face and head of his inebriated comrade, by ſpouting water upon him, which he took into his mouth, and at the ſame time by rubbing him with his hand. The intoxicated young man, though not quite ſober, was at length, however, ſo far recovered, as to be ſet on his legs. A boat was waiting to

carry

carry him acroſs the river, when, on a ſudden, he broke from the hands of his attendants, and precipitated himſelf with great violence into the river. A moment after he came up again, and we ſaw him ſwimming towards the oppoſite bank. The indefatigable young woman then ſprang alone into the boat, and rowed up to her charge, overtook him, and ſeized his hand to make him ſtep into the boat. But he would not enter, but dived again, riſing up in different places; ſo that to all appearance he was in no little danger, conſidering the ſtate he was in, of being drowned. The young ſquaw followed him with her boat, called on him ſeveral times very kindly, did not ceaſe a moment to follow him, with her eyes conſtantly fixed on him, or on the ſpot where ſhe thought he was likely to appear again; for he was as frequently under as above water. At laſt ſhe graſped him again, and ſo tenaciouſly as to retain her hold. This impreſſive ſcene laſted about two hours, during which time the uneaſineſs, care, and endearments of the young woman, were inceſſantly manifeſted, and inſpired us with mingled emotions of ſurpriſe, admiration, and eſteem. She was tolerably handſome, and a ſiſter of the young man. It is hardly poſſible to ſhew more ſympathy, or more ſincere, tender, and unwearied affection,

affection, than was evinced by this poor squaw, as long as her intoxicated brother was in danger; and all this too in a manner so sweet and engaging, as it is not in the power of man possibly to do. This scene imprinted in still deeper characters on my mind the idea, which I have constantly entertained, of the great superiority of women above men in every thing, relative to affections of every sort. He, who never experienced the friendship of a woman, knows not half the charms and delights of friendship. Men, undoubtedly, are capable of making great sacrifices, which I certainly should be the last to disown; indebted as I am for the preservation of my life, to the generous and ardent attachment of two friends. May they, since a more explicit testimony of my gratitude might perhaps endanger their safety and welfare, recognize in these lines the grateful sentiments, which fill my bosom, and which shall not cease but with my existence, though I should never have the happiness of personally expressing to them the tribute of my thanks. But while a woman is capable of the same attachment and sacrifices, while a female friend will chearfully meet the same dangers as men, she possesses besides the art of embellishing and brightening the saddest moments of our life, by unutterable sweetness of

temper,

temper, conſtant care, and unwearied attendance or her friend; ſhe can ſympathize in his ſufferings, mingle with his pleaſures, and comprehend and divine all his projects; ſhe can pour balm on his wounded ſenſibility, raiſe his dejected ſpirits, unburden him of the load of ſorrow, and thus reconcile him to himſelf. Well can ſhe ſoften the harſhneſs of advice, which ſhe has the courage to offer at a ſeaſonable interval, and can inſpire a boundleſs confidence, without creating pain, or cauſing exertion. She bids defiance to obſtacles, is diſcouraged by no accidents, not even by abſence itſelf. In ſhort, female friendſhip is a divine feeling, and the ſweeteſt charm and comforter of life: when deprived of it by misfortune, the bare remembrance of it will ſtill afford us moments of refined pleaſure.

A journey through uninterrupted foreſts offers but little matter either for ſpeculation or remark. The woods are, in general, not cloſe, but ſtand on a fruitful ſoil. A foot-path, tolerably good, upon the whole, but in ſome places very miry, winds through them over a level ground, that riſes but ſeldom into gentle ſwells. After a ride of twelve hours, in which we croſſed ſeveral large creeks, we arrived at the Plain, where we determined to take up our lodgings for the night.

Big Plain is about thirty-eight miles diſtant from Canawaga. We breakfaſted at Buttermilk Fall, and dined on the bank of the creek of Tanawago, which is, ſeveral times, either approached or croſſed, in this line of travelling. For both theſe meals our appetites were ſo keen, that we, perhaps, never ate any thing with a better reliſh. But, this was not the caſe with our ſupper. The marangouins, of which we had heard ſuch frightful accounts, but from which we had hitherto ſuffered but little, began now to torment us. We were near a brook, for it is neceſſary to keep within a little diſtance from water, if between arrival and departure it is intended to breakfaſt, ſup, and water the horſes. The fire and tobacco ſmoke were not ſufficient to keep off the offenſive ſwarms of marangouins, muſquitoes, waſps and gnats; nor did the veils of gauze, provided by Mr. Guillemard, ſhelter us from their pungent ſtings. Theſe innumerable ſmall blood-ſucking inſects are a very great annoyance, and though killed by thouſands, they ſeem to encreaſe in proportion as they are deſtroyed. It is indeed impoſſible to form an adequate idea of the torment and trouble they occaſion, without having felt it.

Two Americans, who arrived from Buffalo Creek, with two horſes, loaded with furs, ſhared our

our fire and our moleſtation, but not our ſufferings. The next day (Thurſday) at four o'clock in the morning, the Americans having found their horſes, proceeded on their journey; while our horſes, which, in ſpite of our entreaties, Mr. Guillemard's ſervant had not coupled, were not to be found, having run back part of the way we came. It happened, however, very fortunately, that a bell, which I had faſtened to my horſe, having in the night indicated to our guide the courſe they purſued, he traced them before the break of day, overtook them at a diſtance of fifteen miles, and brought them back about eleven o'clock in the morning. His uncommon zeal to ſerve us, joined to his ſucceſsful alertneſs, inſpired us with as much admiration, as we felt pleaſure, to ſee our horſes ſafe returned.

The two Americans, who left us in the morning, belonged to Boſton; they make, it ſeems, the journey to Buffalo Creek, five or ſix times every year, to barter for furs with the Indians; they carry on this trade jointly with three or four other ſmall companies; and we learned that, on the whole about twenty thouſand dollars are annually circulated in this way, the ſhare of theſe two amounting to eighteen hundred or two thouſand dollars.

It was too late to indulge the hope of reaching Buffalo Creek before the fall of night. Our journey muſt, therefore, take us up two days longer, although we had proviſion only ſufficient for one. In theſe circumſtances we reſolved to take the road to Tonowanté, the reſidence of our Pondrit, which determination, though it occaſioned a circuit of ten or twelve miles, yet ſecured to us all the certain advantage of obtaining freſh proviſion, which, by Pondrit's account, was in great abundance in that place. But Pondrit is as frivolous a prattler as he is a good pedeſtrian; we found no proviſion, nor was there the leaſt proſpect of procuring viands of any ſort in the hut of this demi-Indian. We were fain to be content with a little rum and two wet indigeſtible cakes of Indian corn, prepared by Mrs. PONDRIT, and were, moreover, under the neceſſity of waiting a whole hour for the lady's return, who, on our arrival was engaged in cultivating the grounds of her huſband. Beſides this wretched repaſt, we got a little Indian corn for our horſes. Mr. Guillemard, whoſe limbs were ſwoln in conſequence of the ſtings of the muſquitoes, fancied he was ill, and determined to remain that night at Tonowanté. We left him under the care of the ſquaw Pondrit; and

Mr.

Mr. de Blacons, Dupetitthouars, and myſelf, ſet out, with our guide, to purſue our journey.

Tonowanté, which we have juſt left, conſiſts of fifteen houſes or wigwams, built on the zig-zag windings of the river of the ſame name. The ſoil is marſhy, yet good. However deſirable it would have been, to ſhorten our next day's long journey by proceeding ten miles further this night, yet the remembrance, and the ſtill-exiſting ſenſation of the muſquito-ſtings of laſt night, deterred us from adopting this meaſure, and we halted, therefore, half an hour before ſun-ſet, to gain the neceſſary time for making arrangements more likely to keep theſe inſects off. A ſmall Indian camp, which we found in the woods near *Small-fall*, was choſen for our night-quarters, notwithſtanding dreadful ſwarms of muſquitoes and ſmall flies, perhaps even more troubleſome than the former, were buzzing about us. We ſurrounded this little place of refuge, to the windward, with fires, which we kept up with dry leaves and rotten wood. The wind driving the ſmoke through our camp, the muſquitoes could not exiſt there. After having coupled our horſes, tied them to trees near us, and thus prevented the danger of loſing them, we procured ſome water, made a meſs of a few cakes of portable ſoup, which we had remain-

ing, and being protected from the attacks of our enemies, we partook of our cakes and remaining ham with great ſatisfaction, and being farther comforted by a few ſegars, we paſſed a very pleaſing night ; I, on my part, at leaſt, did not awake from nine o'clock at night till half paſt three in the morning, the time when we were obliged to prepare for our departure. What an excellent remedy, or, at leaſt, what a palliative for the ſufferings of the head and the heart, is travelling. Alternate wearineſs and reſt leave no room for any train of ideas, and every thing conſpires to render us as happy as if our ſufferings were ended.

Before I cloſe the hiſtory of the day, I muſt obſerve, that in the morning we met with a large rattle-ſnake, on our way to Tonowanté. She was awake, bent backwards, and her head erect; in ſhort, ſhe was in the attitude, in which theſe reptiles dart to bite. Our guide noticed her at the ſmall diſtance of two paces, and Cartouche had approached her within half a pace. We ſtopped ; I called my dog. The aſpect of our horſes, our dogs and ourſelves, who ſurrounded her ſo cloſely, did not diſturb her ; and Pondrit, who had cut a ſtick, was at full liberty to chooſe the ſpot where he would apply his blow. This ſnake was upwards of four and half

feet

feet in length, beautifully black, with rings of a bright, golden yellow, and ſixteen rattles. I relate this trifling incident, to ſhew how little dangerous theſe animals in general are, the accounts of which, in Europe, ſo greatly alarm all, who are preparing to go to America. We continued upwards of five minutes within a ſmaller diſtance from her than her own length. The dog almoſt touched her; ſhe was awake, and yet ſhewed no ſort of malignity. Since I have travelled ſo much in foreſts, I have met with a great number of rattle-ſnakes, killed ſome with my own hand, and, notwithſtanding, have never yet received the leaſt injury.

Friday, the 19th of June.

For theſe two days paſt the roads have been truly execrable, full of deep holes, earth-falls, and thick-ſet buſhes. You are obliged, at once, to beware of the branches of trees, which tear your face or throw you down, to ſelect the ſpot for the horſe to tread on, to give it the neceſſary aid when it paſſes a difficult place, and to take care not to cruſh your knee or leg againſt a trunk or ſtone, which even with the utmoſt precaution cannot be always avoided, and frequently cauſes a very painful ſenſation. By the account of our guide we were this day to enter

better roads; and yet, a level tract of about ſeven or eight miles excepted, theſe were even worſe than the former.

Being deſirous of ſeeing a large Indian ſettlement, and having learned that Buffalo Creek is the largeſt in this neighbourhood, we turned that way, left the foot-path which leads ſtraight to Fort Erie, and ſtruck into another, which is the worſt I have yet ſeen. We breakfaſted twelve miles from the ſpot where we had paſſed the night, and finiſhed the remainder of our ſtores in Buffalo Town. You reach Creek Buffalo twelve or fifteen miles before you come to the village. The ſource of this creek, which is very narrow on the ſpot where you ſee it firſt, is fifteen miles farther up the country. Yet it conſiderably enlarges its breadth, and is upwards of a hundred yards broad, where it diſcharges itſelf into the river. You muſt ford it between a hamlet inhabited by the Cayuga nation and the village of Buffalo, where it is about forty yards in breadth, but its bed is ſo confined and miry, that we were ſcarcely able to work our way out of it.

The village of Buffalo is inhabited by the Seneca-Indians. The chief of this nation is BROTHERFARMER, a man generally reſpected by all the tribes as a great warrior and ſtateſman, and

for

for this reaſon much courted both by Engliſh and American agents. Buffalo is the chief place of the Seneca nation. Inſtead of eighty houſes, of which we had been told this village conſiſted, we found only about forty. The reſt ſtand on the banks of the creek farther up or downwards, and thus people an extent of ſeveral miles. The village is ſituated on a plain, the ſoil of which, to judge from the graſs it produces, is extremely fertile. We ſaw Indians cutting the graſs with their knives. Some families keep cows, and others even horſes. There were ſome fine oxen to be ſold in the village. All the commodities being conſidered as the produce of the labours of the wives, they alone diſpoſe of them at pleaſure. They are looked upon as the ſole proprietors. It is with them that every bargain is made, all the money, even the houſes in which they live, belong to them; the huſbands have nothing but their gun, their tomahawk (a ſmall axe, and at the ſame time their pipe), and the ſcalps ſevered from the ſkulls of the enemies they have ſlain, and which in greater or leſs number form the decoration of the dwellings of all Indian warriors. More property they do not want.

The dignity of a chieftain is, in general, hereditary among the Indians; though ſome are alſo

alſo appointed by election. The ſons of the chieftains, however, do not ſucceed, but thoſe of the female chiefs. For the wives preſerve this right of ſucceſſion in their families, and tranſmit it to their deſcendants. Yet theſe Indian queens cultivate their fields with the ſpade in their hand. Though they have oxen to ſell, it has hitherto not occurred to them, to yoke theſe animals to the plough. I have already obſerved, that a ſmall field of Indian corn ſuffices for the wants of a family. There is, at times, another planted with potatoes; but, in general, theſe are planted between the rows of Indian corn.

The fields are moſtly irregular pieces of land taken from the common; they are not incloſed, being more effectually guarded by an univerſal honeſty, which never deceives. The cattle, which conſtantly remain in the woods, do no damage to the crops. The fields, cultivated by the Indians, have, in general, a more luxuriant appearance than others, from the manner in which they are cultivated. Being better tilled, and kept conſtantly free from weeds, they cannot but produce heavier crops, which is actually the caſe. The Indian huts in Buffalo are not ſo bad as others I have ſeen, but equally unclean and filthy.

Our

Our guide conducted us to a family, in which he said a demi-French woman lived, which, however, was not the fact. On entering the habitation, we found the landlord engaged in bleeding himself in the foot. He said he suffered from pains in the bowels, and placed great confidence in this remedy, which he prescribed and applied himself. Two leaves of sage served for a compress, and an old garter for a bandage; he looked about for his tomahawk to smoke during the application of this remedy. One or two other families live in the same hut. The husbands, fathers, and brothers were sitting before the door; the women were in the fields; we were compelled to wait their return, to learn whether they had any eggs or milk. When they came home, we found that they had none. They gave us, however, butter-milk, and very good butter. During the two hours we passed among them, nothing particular occurred. There is but little expression in their faces, little cheerfulness, and little sagacity. They were extremely curious, as every one would be, who has seen nothing. They laid hold of our watches, our compass, our pencils, and bridles, viewed them with much attention, yet without the least mark of astonishment or satisfaction; but remained as cold and unconcerned as three-fourths

of

of the American country-people remain on ſimilar occaſions, though they are as curious as the Indians.

I had bought at Philadelphia a great quantity of trifles, with a view of diſtributing them among theſe people, who, I knew, are exceſſively fond of them. With theſe trifles we paid what ſervices they had rendered us; but I diſtributed my fineries far beyond their amount; men and women ſeemed to receive them with aſtoniſhment rather than pleaſure. The young girls appeared more pleaſed with them than the reſt. Three or four of theſe were very handſome; and I fancied that I could obſerve in their manners a certain modeſty, which I love to ſee blended with beauty.

The Indians ſeem to occupy themſelves much with their children; they are extremely fond of them during their childhood, and their affectionate attachment frequently laſts far beyond that tender age. Sucking children are generally ſuſpended in a baſket, faſtened to the ceiling by long ropes, and thus rocked. When the mother goes on a journey, or to work, the babe is put into a ſort of portable cradle, the back and lower part of which are made of wood; it is laced before with ſtraps of cloth, with which the child can be tied as faſt as they pleaſe. This ſort of

cradle

cradle is carried by means of a ſtrap, tied around the forehead of the mother. In this manner the Indians generally carry all their burthens.

Few Indians live to be very old. They who grow old and infirm are put to death by their children, who conſider this act as a duty they are bound to perform, in order to ſave their parents from the miſeries of old age. However, they do not always fulfil this duty. Let this barbarous cuſtom be fairly conſidered, and it will be found in ſome manner conſiſtent with reaſon; for of what uſe and value is life, when nothing can be expected but ſorrow and ſufferings?

Death is, with the Indians, no object of terror; and the relations of the deceaſed grieve but little for their loſs. Some howlings at the burial are the only ſigns or expreſſions of their grief, while ſeveral days before and after the interment are ſpent in feaſting and dancing. The entire property of the deceaſed is frequently ſpent in thus eating, drinking, and rioting to his honour.

The imperfect civilization, which the Indian nations, we have ſeen, owe to their conſtant intercourſe with white people, has altered their original manners, which it would be peculiarly intereſting to obſerve. Whiſky renders them ſtupid; and whiſky is known and ſought after by all the Indians, who are engaged in the fur trade

trade with white people. Europe has inflicted, and will ever inflict ſo many evils on every country diſcovered by her, that it is neceſſary to travel as Mr. MACKENZIE has done, beyond the known tribes, in order to trace the original manners of the Indian nations; yet Mr. Mackenzie himſelf diſtributed whiſky as he went along.

I ſhall ſubjoin here a few obſervations concerning the Indians, which, though they may not be perfectly new, will yet form a ſketch, not altogether unintereſting to Europeans, and which I ſhall be able to improve from other accounts, eſpecially from the narrative of the captivity of one of my friends belonging to Virginia, which I intend to introduce in the ſequel. But previouſly to my entering on this ſubject, I muſt obſerve, that all the Indians we ſaw uſed every means of ſhewing us particular kindneſs, on account of our being Frenchmen, whom, they told us, they love very much, knowing that their people have always been kindly treated by them, and particularly without any ſort of contemptuous inſolence. On this account they conſtantly called us their fathers.

Age is ſo much honoured by the Indians, that in their language age and wiſdom are ſynonimous terms.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding this high estimation, in which old age is every where held, and the great respect enjoyed by their chieftains in time of peace, and by their leaders in time of war, health, dexterity, and courage alone obtain distinctions among the Indians. Although from disposition and habit they are independent of each other, in all the concerns of life, yet they are never wanting in obedience to their chiefs and leaders.

Hospitality is with them a duty, which it would be a crime not to observe, and which they never fail to practise. They consider revenge as a duty equally sacred. They conceal their vindictive views as long as they know they cannot be gratified. But neither the longest period of time, nor the greatest obstacles, ever stifle in them the imperious passion for revenge. Although theft is very common among them, and more so among the women than the men, yet the thief, caught in the fact, is compelled to restore the property he stole; and in case of a violent robbery, the conjurors are consulted, who condemn the robber to death.

Homicide is atoned for by a sum of money, the amount of which is paid in a sort of shells, called *wampum*, by which the price of all commodities is measured and adjusted. An offender, who cannot raise this ransom, is delivered over

to

to the family of the deceaſed, that they may take their revenge on him. Deliberate murder is ſeldom committed; manſlaughter perpetrated in drunken quarrels is more frequent. Yet the ſame indulgence, in regard to homicide and theft, is not ſhewn by all the Indian nations. I have learnt from Colonel BRANT, chieftain of the Mohawks, that among the Six Nations, who ſtill occupy lands near the lakes in the dominion of the United States, and in Canada, and to whom the Mohawks and Seneca Indians belong; every Indian, who has killed or robbed another, muſt inevitably ſuffer death. The murderer is generally put to death by the relations of the perſon murdered. But every Indian belonging to the nation has a right to kill him, as ſoon as the crime is known. It frequently happens, that the offender, far from making the leaſt reſiſtance, voluntarily ſurrenders himſelf up for execution.

Among ſome nations the wife takes revenge of an unfaithful huſband, by a ſimilar conduct on her own part; and the huſband, in the ſame circumſtances, has recourſe to the ſame means of revenge. Among ſome the huſband puts the wife to death, if he catch her in *flagranti delicto*. The greateſt crime among the Indians is to touch a captive, even with her conſent. This crime would

would be punished with instant death. I know from Colonel Brant, that among the Six Nations there has yet been no instance of such an offence. As soon as the captive is set at liberty, there exists no farther prohibition, in case she consents. As they can neither read nor write, and yet are desirous of transmitting the memory of their actions to posterity, especially the fortunate exploits of their tribes; they effect this purpose by cutting figures in the bark of trees, which, to those who are unacquainted with this sort of language, appear to have no form, but are very intelligible to them and their posterity, as long as they are spared by all-destroying time. It is in this manner they record their exploits in hunting and war, the number of the scalps they have torn from the skulls of their enemies, &c. The wampum, which is their money, is also their ornament, and their pledge for the performance of every contract and oath. They are more or less skilled in casting up accounts, in proportion to the extent of their trade. They count their months and days by the moon and the night, and their years by summer and winter. The pole star, with which they are acquainted, guides them in their nocturnal journies.

The customs of the Indians, with respect to marriage, are various. In some tribes the chil-

dren are given in marriage by their parents; in others they make their own choice. Among ſome polygamy is permitted; with others it is not in uſe. In ſome tribes the infidelity of the wives cauſes not the leaſt uneaſineſs to the huſband; in others it afflicts them to ſuch a degree, that they frequently poiſon themſelves; an act of deſpair, which is alſo ſometimes committed by women from the ſame motives. Marriage, however, is in general with them but a tranſitory union. Divorces are very frequent; and in this caſe the children remain with the wife, together with all the other property. Converſation ſeldom or never takes place between the huſband and wife; the Indians in general ſpeak little. The wife, when ſhe returns home from hard labour, prepares food for her huſband, twice or thrice a day, who is ever ſatisfied with what ſhe gives him. If no meal be prepared, the huſband goes away without complaining, and eats with one of his neighbours.

Their uſual diſeaſes are inflammatory and putrid fevers, and the ſmall-pox. The laſt never attacks them, but when they are near the habitations of white people, to the care of whoſe phyſicians they commit themſelves with a tolerable ſhare of confidence. If there be no medical perſons in the neighbourhood, they place

equal

equal confidence in their conjurors, who are often women. The remedies, which the conjurors apply, conſiſt generally of the inſpiſſated juices of herbs. They alſo often cauſe the patient to be put into a kind of oven, or vapour-bath, to bring on a violent perſpiration, which is the moſt common cure. Theſe vapour-baths are made by means of large ſtones, heated as much as poſſible, and arranged in the form of a circle, in the centre of which the patient is placed. Over this ſmall incloſure is ſpread a very low tent cover, made of wool, the red-hot ſtones are wetted with water, and when the patient, by means of this ſteam, is in a ſtrong perſpiration, he is ſuddenly immerged into the coldeſt brook. This remedy is repeated ſeveral times, and proves often ſalutary in pleuriſies and colds. But never is any remedy applied without ſome concomitant myſterious ceremony; ſuch as blowing upon the patient, dancing, howling, or beating the drum. Whenever they apply a remedy, or practiſe their art, they invoke the *Great Spirit*, to whom, they ſay, they are called in their ſleep. Pains in the head, and in the muſcles of the neck, are very common among the women. They are attributed to the manner in which they carry their burthens.

The bite of the rattle-ſnake is eaſily cured,

the remedy being known to all the Indians, and uſually applied. I have already mentioned, that it is the rattle-ſnake root (polygala ſenega, Linn.) The bruiſed leaves are applied to the wound, and the juice, extracted from the root, is taken with a little butter or fat. There are, however, ſeveral other remedies againſt this accident, which no Indian regards. The fleſh of the ſnake is conſidered as a delicacy by the Indians, and the ſlough, which the ſnake caſts off twice a year, beaten into powder, is uſed as a cleanſer of the blood.

The language of the Indians, in their conferences, is always figurative. When, for inſtance, they wiſh to deſcribe the reſtoration of peace between two nations, they expreſs themſelves as follows: "We are making a road five hundred miles in length through the foreſt; we are tearing up the roots and branches that obſtruct the way; we are clearing it of ſtones, rocks, and trees; we are removing the hills; we cover it with ſand, and make it ſo perfectly light, that all the nations can ſee each other without the leaſt obſtruction." Although they conduct themſelves with great coolneſs, in all their dealings, yet they often grow warm in the delivery of their ſpeeches, and then ſwell declamation into muſical notes: the aſſembly liſtens in profound ſilence.

ſilence. The members of the council ſmoke their pipes all the while, and the orator, when he has done, ſits down with them, and does the ſame. Their ſpeeches may be as long as they pleaſe; they are never interrupted; ſince to interrupt an Indian would be deemed the greateſt offence. In their deputations, their reception of ambaſſadors, and their negociation of treaties, they introduce much ſolemnity, and many ceremonies.

When one nation wages war againſt another, they reſolve on ſo doing after due deliberation, but never declare war againſt their enemy. They come upon him in greater or ſmaller numbers, and kill and deſtroy every thing within their reach. Whenever they meet with ſingle individuals, who belong to the hoſtile nation, they treat them in the ſame manner. There are, however, places of inviolability, where their hoſtilities are ſuſpended. Such is a certain ſpot on the banks of the river Miſſouri, where a ſpecies of ſtone is found, of which they ſtand in particular need, for making pipes. Here the bittereſt enemies work quietly near one another, in breaking theſe ſtones, which they all alike want. There are more ſuch places, equally ſacred; and no inſtance has ever happened of

theſe places having become a ſcene of contention.

Peace cannot be concluded between two nations, but through the intervention of a neutral tribe; and until it be actually concluded, the contending parties continue to deſtroy each other. As ſoon as the words of peace are proclaimed by the neutral nation, the ambaſſadors of the tribes at war meet and agree upon the *ceſſation of hoſtilities*. No other conditions are ever made. The propoſals are reported by the ambaſſadors to the different councils of their reſpective nations. All the chieftains now aſſemble, ſmoke the calumet of peace, preſent each other with belts of wampum, and peace is definitively concluded. They do not give up the priſoners they have made, who remain where they are in a ſtate of ſlavery.

When the Indians are at war with the white people, in which generally ſeveral nations join, the negociations for peace are uſually opened by meſſengers, deputed by the latter, who are frequently murdered by the former. This happened in the laſt war with the Americans. General Wayne, at the beginning of the year 1794, ſent three officers, attended by three interpreters, to different nations, which had taken a poſition

ſition in front of his army ; the ſix perſons, who carried the American flag, were all killed. After the battle, which took place in Auguſt following, near Lake Erie, and in which the Indians were defeated, General Wayne, inſtead of putting the priſoners to the ſword, ordered them to be well treated, and ſent ſeveral of them back with propoſitions of peace. The Indians being diſpirited by their defeat, as well as by the faintneſs of the aſſiſtance afforded them by the Engliſh, who had excited them to the war, were glad to get their priſoners back, yielded to the general wiſh as well as neceſſity of living at peace, and conſented that negociations ſhould be opened. Eleven nations had been at war with the Americans ; ambaſſadors for the eleven nations arrived ; and the negociations laſted three months.

As ſoon as the point has been agreed upon, that negociations for peace ſhall be opened, the Indians conſider peace as actually concluded, and for this reaſon they bring the calumet of peace into the firſt aſſembly, which is always very numerous ; it is preſented by one of the chieftains, and every one preſent ſmoaks it. To wipe the end of the pipe would be a great affront to an Indian, and might even lead to the rupture of the negociation. The ſubſequent aſſemblies are

leſs numerous. They are compoſed of about three or four deputies of each nation, attended by interpreters; for all the nations ſpeak different dialects. The ſpeeches of the Indians are very long, and, at times, laſt three hours. They are liſtened to, as I have already obſerved, with the utmoſt attention. Their remarks and anſwers are often extremely pertinent and acute. The orators frequently mark down with wampum the leading points of their ſpeeches, in a manner ſcarcely intelligible to any one but themſelves. By a ſimilar arrangement of their wampum, the young Indians, who aſſiſt at the principal deliberation, report to the council of their nation not only all the propoſals which have been made, but, in general, every thing that has been ſaid.

The negociations being brought to a cloſe, the articles agreed upon are written on a long piece of parchment, compriſing every thing that relates to every different nation concerned in the peace. Theſe parchments are ſigned by all the chieftains of the nations, who, for the moſt part, uſe as their ſignature a miſhapen image of the animal, which forms the diſtinctive mark of the tribe. One of theſe parchments, thus ſigned, remains in the hands of the white nation, and the other is delivered to one of the Indian nations

tions concerned, which is moſt numerous, and from which the reſt receive copies of the treaty in wampum. Every thing being terminated, preſents are made, and the calumet is ſmoaked by way of concluſion.

General Wayne, from whom I learned theſe particulars, allows, that the Indians poſſeſs an excellent diſpoſition, with much ſound underſtanding and judgment. In the battle, which decided the iſſue of the war, they diſplayed the moſt obſtinate valour, bordering on blood-thirſty ferocity. They even executed bold and tolerably ſkilful manœuvres, which, though they had undoubtedly been contrived and indicated to them by Engliſh officers, nevertheleſs did them infinite credit.

The Indians, giving a hoſpitable reception to travellers, make them ſmoke the tomahawk, as they ratify a peace by ſmoking the calumet with their former enemies. They generally ſmoke a very pleaſant tobacco, which is rendered ſtill milder by a mixture of the bruiſed leaves of fragrant plants, and eſpecially of ſumach.

Let it, however, be remembered, that theſe general remarks on the manners of the Indians admit of many modifications in regard to ſingle tribes and individuals. I have collected them here, rather with a view of gratifying, as far as

I am

I am able, the eager curioſity of my European friends, than with an intention of preſenting them with a complete delineation of Indian manners, ſuch as could ſatisfy myſelf. Yet I can at leaſt offer this picture as faithful, if imperfect, though it be not drawn from my own immediate obſervation.

Buffalo Town is about four miles diſtant from Lake Erie. The road, which leads thither, runs under the moſt beautiful beech trees and pines, and is for this reaſon even worſe, than that by which we came this morning. All this country is full of ſtagnant waters, and large ſtinking ſwamps and moraſſes; and yet we did not obſerve any agues among the Indians, who ſeem leſs liable to ſuch diſeaſes than white people.

At length we reached Lake Erie, that is to ſay, a ſmall ſettlement of four or five houſes, ſtanding about a quarter of a mile from the lake. A ſmall creek ſeparated them from our road. This creek is ſo muddy, that nobody ventures to ford it on horſeback. The ſaddles are, therefore, taken off: the horſemen paſs the creek, which is about twenty feet in breadth, in boats, and make the horſes ſwim acroſs, though theſe find great difficulty in gaining the oppoſite bank.

We met, on our journey, ſome troops of travelling Indians, and two or three caravans of white

white people; occurrences, which afford great pleaſure. A fire, not yet extinguiſhed, veſtiges of a camp or reſting place, nay, a broken utenſil, which has ſerved for the uſe of a traveller, excites, in theſe wilderneſſes, the moſt pleaſing ſenſations. The idea, "*I am not alone in this vaſt ſolitude*," cannot but be ſtill more important to him, who travels by himſelf in theſe foreſts, than it was to us. And yet we enjoyed theſe emotions, in every part of our journey, where the habitations lay at conſiderable diſtances aſunder. The ſmalleſt portion of cleared ground, or a little wood cut down, is beheld with the utmoſt joy, and its aſpect inſpires the beholder with freſh courage to proceed.

We had hoped to find Mr. Guillemard at the inn, but learned from the Indian, who had conducted him hither, that he had arrived here two hours ago, and had already proceeded onward on his journey; he found it too tedious to wait for us; and beſides, nothing could be had in the inn. He had very properly croſſed over to the other ſide; we intended to do the ſame; but it was too late. We were, therefore, neceſſitated to content ourſelves with a very poor ſupper, and to lie down on the floor, wrapped up in our cloaks. Not the leaſt furniture was to be ſeen in the houſe, nor was there any milk,

milk, rum, or candles. With conſiderable trouble we got ſome milk from the neighbours; but they were not equally obliging, in regard to rum and candles. At length we obtained theſe articles from the other ſide of the river; our appetite was keen; we ſpent a pleaſant evening, and ſlept as well as in the woods.

At Lake Erie (this is the name of this cluſter of houſes) every thing is much dearer, than in any other place, through which we have hitherto paſſed, in our journey, from want of any direct communication with other countries, to facilitate the intercourſe of trade and commerce. There is ſcarcely one houſe in this little hamlet, without a perſon indiſpoſed with the ague. We found ourſelves here ſurrounded by Indians; ſome of them had caught, with harpoons, ſeveral large ſturgeons on the border of the lake, which they offered us for two ſhillings a piece. The banks are crowded, nay rendered noiſome with places where the Indians dry the fiſh, which they catch in great numbers in Lake Erie.

From the ſmallneſs of the lakes we had ſeen in Geneſſee, we were much diſpoſed to admire this lake. We were charmed with its vaſt extent. Were it not for the oppoſite bank, its aſpect would reſemble that of the ſea; as no other land was to be ſeen, and the proſpect of

water

water was boundleſs. The banks of the lake are rather flat, and uninhabited throughout this whole extent. Father CHARLEVOIX obſerves in his travels, that Lake Erie received its name from a tribe of Hurons, who inhabited its banks, but were exterminated by the Iroquois, and the word *erie* in their language ſignifies a *cat*. The immenſe number of wild cats, which are found on the banks of this lake, and the ſkins of which are much valued, have probably given riſe to the name.

At break of day Mr. de Blacons and myſelf proceeded to the place, where we were to croſs the river, three miles diſtant from the inn. Dupetitthouars had hired a boat to ſail down the river, which iſſues from Lake Erie, is about three quarters of a mile in breadth, and is called the Niagara. We here embarked, and conſequently left the territory of the United States.

MINERALOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

I ſhall here ſubjoin a few remarks on the mineralogy of the country, which we have traverſed. I owe them to Mr. Guillemard, who on this ſubject poſſeſſes more ample and correct information, than I can boaſt.

In the vicinity of Philadelphia the rocks are all compoſed of granite or gneiſs. The moſt common

common is a granite interſperſed with mica, and you frequently meet with large ſtrata of mica or talc. The ſtrata of theſe rocks incline towards the horizon, forming an angle of about forty-five degrees. The layer of earth, ſpread over them, is generally a ſort of ſand of the ſame quality as the rock. Under this bed of ſand, a hard ſort of clay is frequently met with.

This large maſs of granite is interſected by veins of hornſtone, calcareous ſpars, and other lime-ſtones, with very good marble. On the banks of the Schuylkill, and eſpecially near Norriſtown, a vein of fine marble ſhoots out of the ſurface; it is connected with the rock of granite, which, towards the north-weſt, borders upon the river.

The direction of all theſe veins generally forms a right angle with that of the ſtratum of granite, and they uſually drop in a line perpendicular to the horizon.

In the whole neighbourhood, no petrifactions are found of marine animals and plants, or of any thing ſimilar; but in holes, dug in the ground, as well as in brooks, a ſtone is frequently met with of a looſe and granulated texture, which is eaſily pulveriſed, and bears a cloſe affinity to fluor.

Further

Further northwards, the ſoil, which before was much covered with mica, begins to be leſs ſo, and the rocks contain leſs granite. Near the creek Perkioming, a reddiſh argillaceous ſlate is found, with which the country in general abounds, till you come within nine miles of Reading. Here begin ſtrata of a ſtone of a light grey, and ſometimes of a blueiſh colour, which breaks into large ſquare pieces, and ſeems to be a ſpecies of fluor.

On the road to Reading, at a ſmall diſtance from that place, are found large maſſes of a kind of pudding-ſtone, conſiſting of fragments of gneiſs and ſlate, imbedded in a dark grey baſaltes.

Near this ſpot is found calcareous ſpar, but in ſmall quantities; and in the vicinity of Reading is much lime-ſtone.

We were told, that pudding-ſtone, in this country, is never found in ſtrata; it is commonly of a dark red colour, which is rather dull.

The country about Lancaſter, alſo, abounds in lime-ſtone, but without any impreſſion of marine animals. The adjacent ſtrata conſiſt of a greyiſh ſlate, and ſink deep into the ground.

On the banks of the Suſquehannah a ſtratum of ſandy loam covers the perpendicular veins of gneiſs

gneiſs and ſlate, which, at times, form conſiderable maſſes.

Near Middle Town the rocks are of a reddiſh colour, and contain much clay. On paſſing the Peters' Mountains, you meet with much granite; yet ſlate predominates. The rocks, which form the baſes of the mountains, or the ſteep banks of the river, on the road from Northumberland to Aſylum, exhibit but little variety in a mineralogical point of view. In ſome places, the ſlate breaks readily into ſmall plates, which are made uſe of to cover the roofs of houſes. No granite appears any more; and both in brooks and rivers free-ſtone is found, with impreſſions of ſea animals and plants. Quarz diſappears by degrees. The ſoil conſiſts of ſand, except in plains, meadows, and low grounds, which are covered with either rotten plants or vegetable earth. The ground, in general, is ſo much covered with earth, that a traveller, who has no time to explore rocks and ſtone-quarries, will hardly be able to form a complete and diſcriminative idea of the minerals of this country.

Near Loyalſock ſtones are to be found, which have the appearance of baſaltes. Some contain mica, but in a very ſmall proportion. Above Aſylum the rocks are of an argillaceous compoſition.

ſition. The ſoil in the neighbourhood is, for the moſt part, rich and fertile. The ſtrata incline with a leſs acute angle, and frequently run parallel to the horizon. The ſtone, when broken, appears of a teſtaceous texture, and its grain reſembles metallic particles, not yet perfectly formed. Free-ſtone is frequent, and ſo is baſalt. Broad level plains, expoſed to inundation, form the greater part of the territory, which extends towards the diſtrict of Geneſſee. At Painted Poſt, the water roſe, in December, 1797, nineteen feet above the common level for the ſummer months. The depth of the layers of earth, and the ſwamps, greatly obſtruct mineralogical reſearches.

The firſt ſtrata, in which I found marine bodies in their native beds, are in the vicinity of the ſmall lakes, between Lake Seneca and Crooked Lake. Near Friendſmill and Friendſtanding, oyſter-ſhells, with remains of other teſtaceous animals, are found in a ſoft argillaceous ſtone. Farther weſt the argillaceous ſtones diſappear, and are ſucceeded by calcareous. The country grows more and more flat; but wherever the nature of the ground, or moraſſes, did not prevent us from examining into the nature and form of the ſtrata, they ran nearly parallel to the horizon. They

are, for the moſt part, of a calcareous compoſition, and contain numerous remains and impreſſions of ſea animals. Of this deſcription are moſt of the ſtones in Big Plain, on the Buffalo Creek, on the banks of Lake Erie, at leaſt at its extremity, the only part which we traverſed, and on the ſouthern bank of the river, as far as Niagara.

As to the *ſpecies of* TREES, that compoſe the woods, through which we have paſſed ſince our departure from Philadelphia, they are without number. I poſſeſs too little information on this ſubject to diſcriminate and enumerate them all. Thoſe which I diſtinguiſhed were the red, or ſcarlet flowering, the aſh-leaved, the mountain, and the ſugar maple, the black, and the poplar-leaved birch, the curled maple, which, however, in Pennſylvania and Geneſſee, is but a middle ſized ſhrub, the button tree, the perſimon tree, the ſmall-leaved cheſnut tree, an aſh with deeply indented leaves, the white nut tree, the hickory, the bermudian cedar, the benjamin tree, the magnolia with indented leaves, the white ſpruce and hemlock fir, the white and black oak, the white and black aſh, the black and ſilver poplar, the plum tree, the cherry tree, the tulip tree, the common ſumach and the vine-

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gar plant, beſide an immenſe number of ſhrubs, for the moſt part with beautiful, yet ſcentleſs flowers, and a vaſt variety of ſylvan plants.

The Hiſtory of MR. JOHNSON, *of Virginia, who, in* 1790, *was taken Priſoner by the Indians, written on board the Pigeon, in October*, 1794.

The following narrative contains the hiſtory of Mr. Johnſon, an American gentleman, a native of Virginia, and of his releaſe in the year 1790.

Although this hiſtory does not abound with remarkable events, and ſome of them are rather unimportant, yet it appears to me intereſting, inaſmuch as it enlarges our knowledge of Indian manners from facts, which Mr. Johnſon, a gentleman of veracity, of an unaſſuming diſpoſition, and of a calm, temperate imagination, related to me himſelf, and which I wrote down, in a manner, from his mouth.

Mr. Johnſon, inhabitant and merchant of Richmond, in Virginia, found himſelf under the neceſſity of proceeding to Kentucky; there to receive certain ſums of money, due to his father, who was recently dead; and to examine ſome witneſſes before the ſupreme court of the ſtate of Virginia. Having made the ſame tour the preceding year, he ſet out accordingly from Richmond, in the beginning of the month of

March, 1790, and proceeded with his friend, Mr. MAY, a great land-holder in Kentucky, and an inhabitant of Peterſburg, to Kecklar's Station, in Virginia, on the banks of the Great Kanhaway. They found there James Skuyl, a merchant, of Great Brayer-court-houſe, in Virginia, who was carrying a large quantity of merchandize to Kentucky. They jointly purchaſed one of the veſſels, which, as they are intended merely to deſcend the Ohio, and are not built to remount it, have no more durability than is required for that purpoſe, and are, conſequently, ſold at a cheap rate. They are large flat bottomed veſſels, without any deck; and are ſold in Limeſtone for the value of their timber. That bought by Mr. Johnſon and his fellow travellers coſt thirty dollars.

I ſtate theſe particulars, though they may appear trifling, as they will not, perhaps, be found altogether unuſeful; the emigration to Kentucky being at this time extremely frequent, and the way of proceeding thither by water being the moſt expeditious, the leaſt expenſive, and the moſt generally choſen of any.

Having embarked on board this veſſel, with their merchandize and ſtores, they deſcended the river, working the veſſel themſelves. During the whole paſſage of two hundred and ninety-

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five miles thence to Limeſtone, nothing is required but to keep the veſſel in the middle of the ſtream, which is ſufficiently rapid to carry her down, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from rowing. At the confluence of the Kanhaway with the Ohio, at Point Pleaſant, they found three other travellers, who were waiting for an opportunity to proceed on the ſame journey; namely, WILLIAM PHLYN, of Point Pleaſant, a petty tradeſman, who was in the habit of travelling to Kentucky; and DOLLY and PEGGY FLEMING, likewiſe of Point Pleaſant, who intended to proceed to Kentucky, under the protection of Phlyn, a relation of their's, and to ſettle in that place. They were all of them fully aware, that the navigation of the Ohio is not exempt from danger; but they alſo knew, that inſtances of the Indians attacking a veſſel in the midſt of the ſtream are very rare, and that an attack on a veſſel, with ſix perſons on board, was altogether unprecedented. They, therefore, made themſelves perfectly eaſy. Having left Point Pleaſant on Friday, the 20th of March, early in the morning, they proceeded, during a paſſage of twenty-two hours, with all the care, which the weather, when favourable, admits of in theſe ſorts of veſſels. They had ſailed one hundred and ſix miles; it was five o'clock in the morn-

ing; they were near the confluence of the Sciota, and had a fair proſpect of reaching Limeſtone the next morning, by day-break. Paſſing on with this expectation, they heard dreadful ſhrieks, proceeding from two men, who ſpoke Engliſh, and told them, in the moſt affecting tone of grief, that they had been taken priſoners by the Indians, and had made their eſcape, but feared to fall again into their hands. They had not eaten any thing for theſe four days paſt, and entreated, if they could not be taken on board, to be at leaſt ſupplied with ſome proviſion, and thus ſaved from the unavoidable danger of periſhing through hunger. The firſt and immediate ſentiment of all the paſſengers impelled them to ſuccour theſe unfortunate perſons. But a little conſideration excited ſtrong apprehenſions in ſome of them, leſt the aſſiſtance, which they might afford theſe perſons, ſhould throw themſelves into the hands of the Indians. Mr. Johnſon, as well as Mr. May, entertained this fear, which, on the other hand, was combated as groundleſs by the other two men; and the two women, yielding to compaſſion (a feeling more prevalent in their ſex than our's) declared it an act of barbarous cruelty, on the part of the above two gentlemen, to oppoſe the ſaving the lives of the above two perſons, in danger of inſtant death. Johnſon and

May,

May, though ſtill impreſſed with the ſame apprehenſions, felt extremely uneaſy, when they conſidered, that in conſequence of *their* prudence, the unfortunate men might, perhaps, periſh. They would not appear leſs humane than the reſt, who ſhared the ſame danger, and accordingly defended their opinion with leſs firmneſs, than when they firſt propoſed it. The two unfortunate men followed the veſſel along the ſhore, as ſhe was carried onwards by the current. Their mournful lamentations, their ſcreams, and expreſſions of agonizing anguiſh and deſpair ſtill increaſing, William Phlyn, who derived ſome kind of authority from his being accuſtomed to this paſſage, and in the habit of frequenting Kentucky, propoſed that he would go alone, and carry bread to the unfortunate ſufferers, if his companions would land him on ſhore. He contended, that he ſhould diſcern the Indians from afar, if they made their appearance; that, in this caſe, the veſſel might eaſily regain the middle of the ſtream; and that he would make the journey to Limeſtone on foot, without falling into the hands of the Indians. It would have been extremely hard to oppoſe this propoſal, which was ſeconded by the two women, and by James Skuyl. Mr. Johnſon and Mr. May, therefore, yielded, rather out of weakneſs, than from any hearty

approbation of the meaſure. They ſteered towards the ſhore, where the two ſufferers were dragging themſelves along, as if tormented by the moſt excruciating pains. Why is it, that humanity and candour muſt ſo frequently fall victims to artifice and fraud? The apprehenſion of the two gentlemen were but too well founded. The two men were two traitors, ſuborned by the Indians to decoy the veſſel to the ſhore. The Indians followed them, at ſome diſtance, conſtantly concealing themſelves behind trees. The moment the veſſel reached the ſhore, they burſt forth, about twenty-five or thirty in number, raiſed a dreadful howl, and fired on the paſſengers. Two of them were killed by the firſt firing, and the reſt, in equal aſtoniſhment and terror, endeavoured to regain the middle of the ſtream. But being too near the ſhore, and their activity and dexterity being ſeverely checked by the proximity of the impending danger, they made but little way. The two perſons killed were Mr. May and Dolly Fleming. The Indians continued to fire. James Skuyl was wounded, and two horſes, which were on board, were killed. All this increaſed the terror of the three travellers, who were yet able to work, and impaired their exertions. The fury of the Indians increaſed in proportion to their hope of ſucceſs. Some

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threw themſelves into the river, and ſwam towards the ſhip; thoſe who remained on ſhore threatened to fire on the paſſengers, if they ſhould make the leaſt reſiſtance, and kept their pieces conſtantly levelled againſt them. The ſwimmers brought the ſhip accordingly on ſhore; and the unfortunate Americans were obliged to land under the continued howl of the Indians, which, however, were no longer the accents of rage, but ſhouts of joy, on account of the ſeizure of their prey. The Indians offered them their hands, which they ſhook with more or leſs ſatisfaction, in proportion to the greater or leſs degree of fear they felt, which we may eaſily conceive not to have been ſmall. This reception, however, in ſome meaſure allayed their apprehenſion. While ſome of the Indians were thus ſaluting the priſoners, and led them away from the ſhore, the reſt were buſied in landing all the merchandize and ſtores. Some cut wood, and made a fire. Theſe arrangements were ſoon made. The articles found in the ſhip were carried to the fire, as well as the two unfortunate perſons who had been ſhot. The latter were completely ſtripped of their clothes, ſcalped on the ſpot, and their corpſes thrown into the river. Mr. May was an intimate friend of Mr. Johnſon; and the latter is yet at a loſs for adequate terms

terms to expreſs the horror he felt at this dreadful ſight, which for ſome time overpowered all his apprehenſion concerning his own ſafety. The ſcalps were dried by the fire, to increaſe the trophies of the tribe.

While the male priſoners were ſtripped of what articles they had about them, with more or leſs rigour, according to the whims of thoſe who took this taſk upon them, or happened to be the neareſt, the clothes of Peggy Fleming were not touched. Mr. Johnſon's coat and waiſtcoat were already pulled off, and half his ſhirt, when an Indian, who hitherto had not concerned himſelf with his dreſs, returned it to him, and ſpoke to him who was pulling off the ſhirt, in a tone not only implying cenſure, but alſo a right to offer it. The ſame Indian gave him a blanket, by way of indemnification for the loſs of his coat and waiſtcoat. His ſhoes were taken from him, and inſtead of them they gave him *mockipons*, or Indian ſhoes, made of deer-ſkins. His breeches and ſtockings were yet left him; all the clothes were added to the reſt of the booty. The Indians were now near ſeventy in number, among whom were about a dozen women. Their leader aſſembled them around the fire, and, holding the tomahawk in his hand, addreſſed them in a ſpeech, which laſted about an hour, and

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which he delivered with great eaſe and fluency of expreſſion, with geſtures, and in a tone of enthuſiaſm, looking frequently up to heaven, or caſting down his eyes on the ground, and pointing now to the priſoners, now to the river. Almoſt at every phraſe the Indians, who liſtened to him with the utmoſt attention, expreſſed their approbation and applauſe with accents of deep, mournful exclamation. The booty was divided among the different tribes, which ſhared in this enterprize. The tribe of the Shawaneſe, being the moſt numerous, and that to which the leader belonged, received three priſoners; and William Phlyn fell to the ſhare of the other tribe, the Cherokees. Every priſoner was given to the charge of an Indian, who was anſwerable for his perſon. Although thus diſtributed, the priſoners remained together, and neglected not to improve the liberty allowed them, converſing with each other without conſtraint.

The two men, who by their lamentations had decoyed them on ſhore, now rejoined the Indians. Their wretched victims poured forth againſt them ſevere reproaches, though they were ſomewhat ſoftened by the fear of being overheard by the Indians. They pleaded neceſſity, and that they had been ordered on pain of death, to act as they did. By their accounts, they were inhabitants

bitants of Kentucky, ſurprized by the Indians, ſix months before, in their own habitations; and had already, ſeveral times, been employed in ſimilar treachery. The ſtores found on board the veſſel ſerved the Indians for their meals, in which they generouſly allowed the priſoners to partake. Night coming on, every one lay down to reſt under the trees. The priſoners were ſurrounded by the tribes to which they reſpectively belonged, and ſingly guarded by the Indian, who had the charge of them. Peggy Fleming, who was never left by her guards, was, this night in particular, ſurrounded by women. Mr. Johnſon was tied by the elbows; and the ends of the ropes were faſtened to trees, which ſtood far aſunder, ſo that it was altogether impoſſible for him to lie down. Yet this was not deemed ſufficient. Another rope, faſtened to a tree, was tied around his neck, and from it a rattle was ſuſpended, which, if he had made the leaſt motion, would have awakened the whole troop. The reſt were treated nearly in the ſame manner. The two white ſpies enjoyed the moſt perfect liberty. Some Indians were ſtationed, at certain diſtances, around the party, to obſerve what was paſſing in the ſurrounding country.

Early in the morning the priſoners were unbound, and ſuffered to enjoy the ſame liberty as

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on the preceding day. About ten o'clock the Indians, who were poſted along the banks of the Ohio, reported, that a veſſel was dropping down the river. The priſoners were ordered to join the other two, who yeſterday beguiled their prey, and to exert their utmoſt efforts to decoy the paſſengers in the ſhip on ſhore. It is eaſy to conceive, that the horror which they felt, on receiving theſe orders, was ſtrongly combated by the fear of inſtant death, with which they were threatened, in caſe of diſobedience and refuſal. They were, therefore, under the neceſſity of joining the other two white men. Mr. Johnſon, however, though compelled, for the preſervation of his own life, to pretend to do like the others, firmly determined not to make himſelf guilty of occaſioning the ſlavery, or probable death of the unfortunate paſſengers on board, by any voluntary action on his part; and, conſequently, neither to make the ſmalleſt geſture, nor to ſpeak a word. And well might he ſpare himſelf this trouble. His companions exerted themſelves to the utmoſt, to excite the compaſſion of the paſſengers on board, who, without the leaſt heſitation, ſtood in towards the ſhore, to ſuccour and reſcue from ſlavery, thoſe whom they thought unfortunate captives. Scarcely had they approached within a ſmall diſtance of the

ſhore,

ſhore, when the Indians, who, as on the preceding day, had ſtolen along behind the buſhes, haſtened up, fired, and ſhot the ſix perſons on board. Shouts of victory ſucceeded to the howls of barbarous rage. The veſſel was hauled on ſhore; and two of the ill-fated paſſengers, who were not yet dead, were immediately diſpatched with the tomahawk. The ſix ſcalps were torn off and dried, and the booty was divided, but with fewer formalities than on the preceding day. Soon after the ſcouts made ſignals, that three other veſſels were in ſight. The ſame ſtratagem was employed, but, for this time, in vain. The families on board, which were proceeding to Kentucky, did not appear to make any attempt to deviate from their courſe, but, on the contrary, purſued it with redoubled activity. The Indians fired at the veſſels, but, from the breadth of the Ohio, which, in this place, is almoſt a mile, the balls took no effect. Yet the paſſengers were panic-ſtruck. Of the three veſſels, which they occupied with their cattle, they deſerted two, and joined all in one; believing, that they might thus proceed faſter, and more certainly make their eſcape. The other two veſſels they abandoned to the ſtream. This meaſure inſpired the Indians with a hope of ſeizing them, which they would never have attempted, if the paſſengers,

gers, without leaving these two vessels, had stedfastly pursued their course. The Indians, who, in all their enterprizes, are rather animated by a thirst for plunder than by real courage, never venture upon an attack, without being convinced, that they are superior in strength; a conviction, which they do not readily admit. Inspirited by their number, by the obvious panic of their enemies, and by the separation of their means of defence, they resolved on pursuing them. Having on the preceding day captured two vessels, they went on board, embarked their prisoners, and, with all possible speed, pursued the fleeing ship. The two vessels, which had been abandoned to the stream, soon fell into their hands; but, not satisfied with their capture, they were bent upon taking the third, which they pursued with redoubled exertion, raising dreadful howls, and discharging all their pieces; but their fire proved as ineffectual as their other exertions. The fugitive vessel having gained considerably the start of them, approached a spot, where the Indians feared to encounter new enemies. They were, accordingly, obliged to relinquish their design, and to content themselves with the rich booty, which had already fallen into their hands. It consisted of effects, stores, and other valuable articles, belonging to the four families, which had

had jointly emigrated from Virginia, to ſettle in Kentucky. They brought every thing on ſhore; and, without diſtributing the whole, fell eagerly on ſome caſks of whiſky. They drank ſo largely, that all of them were ſoon intoxicated. Six or ſeven, to whom was committed the charge of guarding the booty, and who had been ordered, at the beginning of theſe Bacchanalian revels, to drink with moderation, retained alone the uſe of their ſenſes. All the reſt lay buried in a profound ſleep; and, among them, the leader of the party, and the guards of the priſoners. William Phlyn himſelf had drunk ſo much whiſky, as to be in the ſame ſituation with his maſters. Mr. Johnſon's mind was too deeply affected by his dreadful ſituation, to ſhare in this diſguſting banquet. Totally abſorbed in the contemplation of the dangers and miſeries that awaited him, and eagerly deſirous of warding them off, if poſſible, he conceived, that the profound ſleep of all the Indians around him might afford the means of eſcape, and communicated his idea to James Schuyl, who was lying by his ſide. The veſſels were faſtened to ſtakes along the ſhore, at a ſmall diſtance from them; the ſucceſs of their enterprize depended merely on their ſtealing thither unobſerved, throwing themſelves into the firſt veſſel they ſhould find, the night being very dark,

dark, and abandon her to the ſtream. Succeſs appeared as certain, if they could reach the veſſels, as inſtant death, on the other hand, if they were apprehended. James Skuyl the more readily embraced this project, as, but half an hour before, he eſcaped death in a manner little ſhort of a miracle. An Indian ran up to him, in the firſt fit of drunken madneſs, with the dreadful knife in his hand, to ſcalp him, and would certainly have accompliſhed his purpoſe, but for the interference of two other Indians, leſs inebriated than he was, who checked his fury. The laſt words of this converſation were uttered in a voice ſo very low, that it was impoſſible to conceive they ſhould have been underſtood by an Indian, who lay at a conſiderable diſtance, though he were even poſſeſſed of a knowledge of the Engliſh tongue; yet he aroſe, and and tied them in the ſame manner as the preceding night, without ſhewing, however, the leaſt paſſion, nay, without ſpeaking a word.

Thus the pleaſing hopes of the two priſoners were blaſted on a ſudden, and converted into renewed deſpair. Tied faſt to trees, ſeparated from each other, convinced, by experience, that they were cloſely watched, without the leaſt intermiſſion, even in moments when they might imagine themſelves to be totally unguarded; they could

not but ſuppoſe themſelves doomed to a ſtate of hopeleſs miſery. The remembrance of all they had heard of the cruelty of the Indians towards their priſoners, oppreſſed their minds with conſtant horror. They were aware, that they would be yielded up to the groſſeſt inſults, and to lingering, cruel, and varied torments. They conſidered the Indians, who were lying around them in a ſtate of ſenſeleſs, brutiſh intoxication, as the inſtruments of their tortures. It was with theſe painful ideas, that the two unfortunate priſoners paſſed the remainder of the night. At break of day, the ſurrounding troop awoke; they were untied; and this day, the third of their captivity, was ſpent in continued revels, kept up with the whiſky, which had been left the preceding day. The leader, probably from an opinion that his expedition had already proved ſufficiently productive, proclaimed his will on the next following day, that it ſhould be cloſed; and the different tribes, which had taken a ſhare in it, ſet out on their way home. They all inhabited the neighbourhood of the lakes Ontario and Erie. The leader of the moſt numerous tribe was a Shawaneſe; the reſt were Lower Creeks, Wyandats, Mingoes, Othenwages, Delawares, Ottawas, Chepawas, and Cherokees.

Johnſon, Jacob Skuyl, and Peggy Fleming,

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as has already been obſerved, had fallen to the lot of the Shawaneſe, forty of which tribe were preſent in this expedition. They left the Ohio together; while William Phlyn departed with the Cherokees. On the firſt day's journey, Johnſon was ordered to lead a cow, which formed a part of the booty, found on board the two deſerted veſſels. Jacob Skuyl, being wounded, had nothing to do, but follow the troop. Peggy Fleming, who was ſurrounded by men and women by turns, could go wherever ſhe pleaſed. They were all three at liberty to converſe as they choſe, without the Indians having hitherto conceived the ſmalleſt diſtruſt. The vaſt booty, which had fallen to the ſhare of this tribe, was, in part, tranſported on horſes, ten or twelve in number, found in the veſſels, and in part carried by Indians, who, at times, loaded Mr. Johnſon with part of their burden. The firſt day's journey was but five miles. The Shawaneſe halted in a beautiful vale, where, under ſtraggling trees, about forty horſes were grazing, which, in the courſe of the expedition, had been taken from the different travellers, and ſent to this ſpot. They had adopted this meaſure, becauſe they were to return this way; and it, beſides, ſupplied the horſes with food in the utmoſt abundance. The cow was killed the firſt day,

roaſted, and devoured. What had not been eaten, was left behind the next morning, when they ſet out to renew their journey. The leader, with eight or ten Indians, had, by this time, left the troop, mounted the beſt horſes, and rode off to reach their habitations, before the arrival of the reſt. They took Peggy Fleming with them, who, for the preſervation of her life, did all ſhe could to pleaſe the leader, and the other Indians, on whom ſhe depended. Her good and playful humour inſured her ſucceſs. She was carried off on one of the beſt horſes, and the apprehenſions of her future fate were loſt in the pleaſure of her journey. Her two companions in misfortune, unable to charm their maſters, as ſhe did, continued their journey in the ſame manner, in which they had begun it; except that they had nothing to carry, as the horſes were more numerous: the cow too had been killed. The troop breakfaſted on ſome ſalt meat they had found on board the veſſels, and on the remains of the meals of the preceding day, and then moved farther onward. About twelve o'clock they halted. The game killed by the huntſmen was dreſſed, and the time of their halting was frequently determined by the good or bad luck of the chace. They ſmoked their pipes before and after dinner, and then ſet out again to purſue their journey, until

until about an hour before night-fall. At this time they ſtopped to eat their evening meal, which was much like the dinner, uſually ſmoked a pipe in profound ſilence, and then lay down to reſt on hides. The priſoners were conſtantly tied at night, and the journey was purſued in the ſame unvaried manner. During the march, ſome Indians, generally the huntſmen, formed a kind of van-guard, and others brought up the rear, at ſome diſtance, to watch whether the troop were purſued; for both the miſtruſt and the vigilance of the Indians are very great. The main body marched as they choſe, without the leaſt order. If game was eſpied, either by the main body or the rear-guard, they killed it. But the van-guard ſeemed in particular charged with this duty. No more game is killed, than what is required for the next meal; and the woods are filled with it to ſuch a degree, as to preclude all apprehenſion in regard to future ſubſiſtence. The game killed is cut into large pieces, and put on ſtakes driven into the ground. The cookery is performed by the women. The Indians, on lighting their fires, take peculiar care not to ſet fire to the neighbouring trees.

The priſoners, we may eaſily conceive, profited by the liberty they enjoyed of keeping conſtantly together. Their melancholy converſation breathed

deſpair in conſequence of their having miſſed the laſt favourable opportunity of eſcape, rather than hope of meeting with another. Yet this hope, chimerical as it might appear, was not entirely abandoned. The chief of the troop had conceived ſome miſtruſt from their being conſtantly together; and his apprehenſion encreaſed at the ſight of a knife, which Mr. Johnſon inadvertently drew out of his pocket, and which he had carefully preſerved for the purpoſe of cutting the ropes, with which he was tied at night, if any favourable opportunity ſhould offer. On the priſoners being again ſearched, a few guineas were found in the pocket of James Skuyl, which had been overlooked at the firſt ſearch, and which heightened the miſtruſt. The firſt means to which the Indians reſorted for their ſecurity were, to ſtrip both the unfortunate priſoners of their breeches, inſtead of which they were furniſhed with a ſhort apron, tied round their hips, and reaching half way down their thighs, which cloathed them in the Indian faſhion. Their ſhirts were exchanged for coarſer ones. Yet all theſe precautions were not ſufficient, to allay the fears of their keepers. On the next morning the chief ordered the troop to ſeparate into two diviſions; and James Skuyl to proceed with one, while Johnſon continued with the other; they were both

both to reach the ſame place of deſtination by different roads.

This new ſeparation proved extremely painful to Mr. Johnſon; the fellowſhip in misfortune had converted a four-days acquaintance into the moſt intimate friendſhip. Skuyl was his ſupport, his hope, the only being with whom he could aſſociate; yet him he loſt, left alone in nature's vaſt domain, and given up entirely to his grief and apprehenſions, conſiderably heightened by this loſs. The ſeparation from a dearly beloved wife, Mr. Johnſon ſaid, could hardly affect the heart with keener pangs, than he felt on being torn from this four-days friend. Yet how was he to oppoſe the iron-hand of neceſſity? A wiſe man, and this is his chief merit, reſigns himſelf to calamities he cannot avert: thus did Mr. Johnſon. He ſoon determined on concealing, as much as poſſible, his painful ſenſations, and, under the appearance of ſerenity, to beguile the miſtruſt of his maſters. He was powerfully ſupported in the execution of this deſign by an innate firmneſs, calmneſs, and cheerfulneſs of temper. Though the hideous image of impending death would often preſs upon his mind, he found ſome conſolation in the thought, that not every priſoner is irrevocably doomed by the Indians to ſuffer death; but, that, at times, they employ

their captives to aſſiſt them in hunting, or adopt them as members of their tribes. He has repeatedly aſſured me, that even in moments of the moſt imminent danger, during his captivity, his ſpirits never failed him for any length of time. A ray of hope would conſtantly re-animate his courage, though, wanting probability, it quickly vaniſhed; but, though leſs miſerable than many others would have been in his ſituation, he was conſtantly wretched.

The ſameneſs of the remaining journey was not chequered by any remarkable events. The marches were longer or ſhorter in proportion to the game they killed, to the duration of their ſleep at noon, and to the delight they found in ſmoaking their pipes. But their length eſpecially depended on the will of the chief, and the advice of the conjurors. Their dreams frequently alter the direction of their journies. They fell in with ſeveral wandering troops of Indians, which cauſed a longer or ſhorter delay, according to the hour at which they met. At times the two troops would dine together; but they never parted without having informed each other of their exploits, and exhibited their priſoners with pride and oſtentation. At night Mr. Johnſon was always tied looſer or tighter according to the whim of the Indian, who undertook this charge,

charge, without always belonging to his guards, being ſometimes deputed by one of them, who had perhaps ſome buſineſs in front or rear of the troop; and in this caſe the deputy would often endeavour to juſtify the confidence placed in him, by tying his priſoner as cloſely as he could. One night he was tied ſo tightly, that the ropes cut deep into his arms, and were covered by the ſwelling they occaſioned. Yet he dared not to complain, for the whole party being intereſted in the preſervation of priſoners, every meaſure tending to that purpoſe could not but obtain univerſal approbation. At another time he was beaten by the chief for no other reaſon than the ill humour of this brute, yet he dared not to murmur. Once he was ſeverely beaten by an Indian from a mere brutiſh deſire of uſing him thus; but this time his patience forſook him. He returned the blows with the approbation of the whole troop. They ſaid he had proved himſelf a man; none but women ſubmitted to ſuch treatment without oppoſition. From that time he obſerved, or fancied, that they treated him with more reſpect. In the meanwhile the real commander or chief of the troop rejoined them, after two days ſeparation. Having altered his idea of reaching home ſooner than the reſt, he reſolved on ſcouring the woods with his Indians, and it was

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by mere accident he fell in with the troop from which he had ſeparated. Peggy Fleming was with them, apparently much habituated to their maſters, as ſhe preferred their protection to the company of Mr. Johnſon. A few days after the troop met a negro laden with whiſky. He was the ſlave of an Indian, who was hunting in the woods, and had commiſſioned him to ſell this liquor. Within a ſhort time the negro ſold his whole ſtock, and followed the troop, waiting for his maſter. The Indians halted ſoon after to drink their whiſky with more eaſe, and to prepare for their entrance into Sanduſky, which was diſtant but a few days journey. Their preparations conſiſted in the complete proceſs of an Indian toilette, that is to ſay, they touched up and refreſhed the colours with which the Indians are accuſtomed to paint both the face and body. Every one is at liberty to paint himſelf after his own fancy, except that they all wear one certain mark either on their breaſt or arms. A black paint, prepared of charcoal, and a red, compoſed of minium and cinnabar, are moſt frequently uſed. The whole body and face are plaſtered with theſe paints. They ſuffer their hair to grow only about the ſcalp; and cut off the reſt, cloſe to the head, either in irregular lines proceeding from the eyes and the root of the

the noſe, and branching out from this central point in various forms, or parallel lines extending near each other in the ſame direction. At times it is a ſort of hair-dreſs, on which apparently no care is beſtowed. But the fact is, that they attend to this ſort of ornament with a peculiar care, and paſs whole hours before their looking-glaſs, which they carry conſtantly about them to complete their dreſſing. This they value as highly as the handſomeſt European coquette can do; and are as much pleaſed, when it is finiſhed to their ſatisfaction, as ſhe may be. On ſuch days they pluck off the hair from the eye-brows and beard, with more care, than they uſually beſtow on this operation. As to the common mark or ſign, which they wear painted on their breaſt or arms, it is generally the image of ſome animal. That of the tribe of the Shawaneſe was a wolf. The women wear it in common with the men; but they paint only the cheek-bones, for the moſt part, red. They ſuſpend ſmall ſilver or iron rings from the whole cartilaginous part of the ear. The men wear them in the noſe. Either ſex generally wears a ſilver collar, from which a croſs is ſuſpended. A ſhort ſhirt, reaching down to the apron, which is tied round the hips, is the common dreſs of both ſexes; in cold weather they throw a ſhort mantle round the ſhoulders.

ders. Such, at leaſt, are the dreſs and fineries of the Shawaneſe. Nearly all the tribes vary in this reſpect, as well as in many others. After the company were thus arrayed, they proceeded on their journey. The negro ſpoke Engliſh; and, as the Indians entertained no miſtruſt againſt him, he had it in his power, to impart to Mr. Johnſon ſome intereſting information, which, though not calculated to inſpire the priſoners with hope, yet proved to him extremely valuable and important. The troop was ſoon joined by the maſter of the negro, and ſhortly after by two other Indians, who took Mr. Johnſon by the hand, and conducted him to the chief, whom they ſeemed to addreſs in a ſuppliant manner, and with an air of ſubmiſſion. At the cloſe of an hour's converſation, the ſubject of which was the priſoner, and after the petitioners had delivered two gallons of whiſky, moſtly quaffed by the chief, Mr. Johnſon was ſurrendered to them and carried off. All his ideas were abſorbed by the proſpect of certain deſtruction, which impreſſed his mind; every ray of hope vaniſhed for a moment; every perception was loſt; he dared not to aſk the negro, who, in conjunction with his maſter, had joined the two Indians; ignorant as he was, whether he might not be connected with them; whether the compaſſion, he ſeemed to

ſhew

ſhew, were not an artifice to betray him; whether he were not, perhaps, his moſt cruel enemy, his executioner! For ſome time he moved on in ſilence, and ſecret deſpair; but, being no longer able to ſupport the torturing idea of the uncertainty of his fate, he, at laſt, with great timidity, had recourſe to the negro, and learned from him, that one of the two Indians, to whom he now belonged, having ſome time ago killed an Indian of the tribe of the Mingoes, he was bound by the laws of the tribe, to furniſh a perſon inſtead of the Indian ſlain, or, in default of this, to be himſelf ſurrendered up to the vengeance of his family; that, being too poor to buy a priſoner, he had prevailed upon the Shawaneſe by his entreaties, and perſuaded the chief, by means of the whiſky, to make him a preſent of Johnſon, ſo that he now pertained to the tribe of the Mingoes, but that previouſly to his being delivered up to them he would paſs a few days at his maſter's, who was a neighbour of the two Indians. The proſpect of ſlavery was pleaſing to Mr. Johnſon; he was happy even at this price to preſerve his life, the loſs of which had been conſtantly before his eyes. He deemed himſelf more fortunate, as he entertained a hope, that by ſome means or other he might be able to ſhorten the period of his captivity. He journeyed on about four

four days with his new maſters, and lived with them in the ſame manner as with the former, except that he was not tied at night. His old maſters had given him back his clothes, and, on comparing his preſent ſituation with his former, and eſpecially with that which he expected in anxious ſuſpenſe, he felt happy. But this happineſs was not of long duration. His unlucky ſtars would have it ſo, that after four days marching he again fell in with the Shawaneſe. The chief, who had now become ſober, was no longer ſo generous as before, and regretted his former generoſity. He demanded Mr. Johnſon from the two Indians, but was refuſed. The two Indians referred to the teſtimony of the negro and his maſter, which was in their favour; but, the Shawaneſe being the ſtronger party, they proceeded from demands to menaces, and from menaces to acts of violence; the two Indians, deſtitute of all means of defence, were eaſily conquered; and Mr. Johnſon, thus torn from them, was replunged into his former anxiety and miſery. His ſituation appeared to him the more deſperate, as a French merchant of Canada, who, being informed by the Indians, that the Shawaneſe had a white priſoner with them, came to redeem him, but had met with a refuſal from the chief, who told him, that he meant to lead him with the

other

other booty in triumph through his town. The merchant promiſed Mr. Johnſon, to renew his application the next morning, but the latter had renounced all hope. The merchant actually came the next morning, according to his promiſe, at the time of the arrival of the priſoner, and made ſeveral trifling bargains with the Indians; but all his applications concerning Johnſon were in vain. The unfortunate young man, therefore, had no hope left, but what the proſpect of occurrences, incidental to a journey of one hundred and fifty miles, the actual diſtance of his place of deſtination, could afford. An event, with which his moſt ſanguine hopes could not have flattered him, ſoon took place. The Shawaneſe, proceeding on their journey, met an Indian with a horſe loaded with whiſky; part of the booty was quickly exchanged for ſome barrels. The next morning the remainder of the booty went the ſame way, and on the following day they paid the Indian for what whiſky he had left in horſes, which they had brought with them from the banks of the Ohio. The Shawaneſe paſſed ſix days in a ſtate of continual intoxication, and continued drinking until they had nothing left to drink. Aſhamed to return to their tribe without any trophies, but one ſingle priſoner, they determined on another expedition,

in

in which Mr. Johnſon was to co-operate. Yet, on mature deliberation, they found it ſtill more adviſeable, to ſell the priſoner, in order to be able, to drink whiſky, and drink it largely, previouſly to their taking the field again. The expreſſion of vehemence and ſavageneſs in their faces, which was heightened by the fumes of whiſky, not yet altogether evaporated, greatly encreaſed Mr. Johnſon's uneaſineſs during theſe debates. It was in vain his woe-worn mind endeavoured to find out their object, when the following morning he was called to the two chiefs, who ordered him to mount a horſe, and puſh on with them as faſt as he could. He now imagined, that his laſt hour was come, but this time his fear was not of long duration. The place whither he was conducted was not above five miles diſtant; it was the habitation of Mr. DUCHOQUET, the merchant whom he had already ſeen. After ſome glaſſes of whiſky had been drunk, the bargain was ſoon ſtruck; ſix hundred ſmall ſilver ſhirt buckles, ſuch as the common people wear, conſtituted the ranſom, amounting to twenty-five Louis d'or. Mr. Johnſon's happineſs may be eaſily conceived, but he did not yet feel it in its whole extent; which is generally the caſe in ſudden tranſitions from extreme wretchedneſs to a ſtate of felicity and peace. This rapid and complete

complete delivery from death and bondage appeared to him like a dream, in which he dared not to indulge. Mr. Duchoquet endeavoured to convince him of the reality of his happy ſituation, and he began to believe in it, when the next morning the two Indians, who had conducted him thither, again made their appearance. Mr. Duchoquet was himſelf of opinion, that they came to reſcind the agreement, and confirmed his new gueſt in the determination he had formed, to ſell his life dear, when one of the Indians came up to him unarmed, and ſaid ſmiling, that on the preceding day he had forgotten ſomething, which belonged to him, which moſt certainly he muſt have miſſed, and which they came to return to him. It was a code of laws for Virginia, which his maſters had left him during his journey. Mr. Johnſon was leſs ſenſible of the delicacy of this conduct, which even among refined Europeans would have been conſidered as a proof of great attention, than happy on account of the perfect ſecurity, which this behaviour of his former maſters guaranteed to him, and which continued undiſturbed by any further accident.

Not being able to reach the ſettled parts of America without a guide, he was neceſſitated to wait the ſeaſon, when Mr. Duchoquet uſually

went to Canada. Until that period he continued with him in his habitation, and aſſiſted him in his trade with the Indians. This afforded him an opportunity of getting acquainted with ſeveral tribes, whoſe manners and cuſtoms differed but little from thoſe of the Shawaneſe. Unacquainted with their language, he could not himſelf collect much information concerning them; and beſides, he was too much occupied by his eager deſire of being reſtored to his family and friends, to ſtudy the manners and habits of ſavages, whom he was anxious to quit. He learned, however, from his hoſt, that all the tribes in that neighbourhood believe in a Supreme Being, and in the duration of the exiſtence of the ſoul after the cloſe of this mortal life. They hold, that the puniſhment of thoſe, who have rendered themſelves guilty of wicked deeds, and with them none are wicked deeds but inactivity and cowardice in hunting and warfare, and perfidy to their friends, conſiſts, in their being removed after death into unhealthy woods, where there is no other game but ſmall birds; while they, who have conſtantly obſerved an honeſt, gallant conduct, are tranſplanted into foreſts, abounding with the largeſt game, of which the numbers never diminiſh. He farther was informed by his hoſt, that Indian women, called in their language

ſquaws,

ſquaws, are kept by their huſbands in a ſort of ſlavery, frequently beaten, and in caſe of adultery often maimed by them—a puniſhment which they are much inclined to inflict. Girls, or unmarried women, on the contrary enjoy full liberty, to gratify their deſires as they pleaſe; and ſo far from their forfeiting by this gratification the eſteem of the men, a woman is held in little eſtimation by the Indians, who, previous to her marriage, has not been engaged in ſome amorous intrigue: "for," ſay they, "diſdained as ſhe has been by all men, ſhe is unworthy of love." According to his obſervation, the Shawaneſe are lazy, imprudent, melancholy, ſilent, and without thought for the coming day. As to the general character of the Indians, he knew, that, whatever acts of cruelty they may exerciſe againſt their priſoners, in particular againſt ſuch, as they take in time of war, they are in their friendſhip true and faithful to a degree, which has long become obſolete among civilized nations.

At the beginning of June Mr. Duchoquet ſet out with his gueſt on his journey to Canada. Lake Erie was but fifty miles diſtant. They embarked there for Détroit, where Mr. Duchoquet reſides. But, before they reached Lake Erie, they had to paſs the ſmall lake Sanduſky. A violent guſt of wind drove them to a ſmall

iſland in the middle of this lake, inhabited by two Indian tribes. Mr. Johnſon was there invited with his friend to a grand feaſt, given by a family in celebration of the recovery of an Indian lady. The feaſt conſiſted of a grand meal, preceded by a great deal of dancing around a large fire. Almoſt all the inhabitants of the iſland were invited. A ſmall painted ſtick ſupplies among the Indians the uſe of our cards of invitation: and theſe dances, theſe banquets, and large fires, are religious rites, deemed by the Indians extremely efficacious in curing their ſick; in all probability they leſs obſtruct their recovery at leaſt, than the preſcriptions of many phyſicians might do.

Mr. Johnſon reached Détroit on the 13th of June; and there ſeparated from Mr. Duchoquet. The Engliſh governor ordered him to be conveyed acroſs Lake Erie in a king's yacht. Thence he went in another veſſel to the celebrated cataract of Niagara, to conceive an adequate idea of which, is beyond the powers of human fancy. From this ſtupendous water-fall he proceeded in a boat along the banks of Lake Ontario, and thence on the river Oſwego to Albany, New York, and Virginia, where, having been afflicted ſix weeks by fate, ſavages, and muſquitoes, he rejoined his family, whom he had utterly deſ-

paired

paired of ever ſeeing again; happy, that ſo many ſufferings terminated in this fortunate, but unexpected event.

The Hiſtory of Peggy Flemming.

Peggy Flemming continued with the Shawaneſe, when Mr. Johnſon was, by their chief, delivered up to the two Indians of the tribe of the Mingoes. But he did not find her again, when he was ſurrendered back to his former maſters. Two or three of them had carried her off; and after a journey of a few days, given her to three Cherokees, whom they met in the woods, and who carried her to Sanduſky, where Duchoquet and Johnſon ſaw her, without being able to obtain from her one ſingle word; undoubtedly in conſequence of a prohibition of her preſent maſters, who uſed her more rudely than the former had done. Some days after, theſe Indians brought her into the neighbourhood of the lake Sanduſky, where they pitched their tents, and being much pleaſed with the ſurrounding country, determined to paſs ſome days in their camp. Mr. Mac-Intosh, partner of Mr. Duchoquet, proceeded thither, on the firſt intelligence that a white woman was in the hands of the Indians, with a view to redeem her. A young Virginian, who, ſome years before, had been taken priſoner by the

Wyandots, and by them adopted as a member of their tribe, accompanied him thither. He happened to know the whole family of Peggy Flemming, and to be perſonally acquainted with her. Being much liked and reſpected by the chief of the tribe, he ſolicited of him the favour, to procure him this captive from the Indians, aſſerting, that ſhe was his ſiſter. The aged chief, in compliance with his requeſt, paid the three Cherokees a viſit, and after the uſual compliments expreſſed his wiſh, that they might either give or ſell him this young woman, in whom he profeſſed to take the moſt lively intereſt. The Indians gave him a denial in terms, which grew peremptory in proportion as his entreaties became more earneſt. They threatened, that they would rather kill both him and her, than give her up. The old chief, being the weaker party, was obliged to yield. But the next morning he came before break of day, attended by twenty Indians of his tribe. Peggy Flemming was tied to a tree, around which the three Cherokees were lying in a profound ſleep. The Wyandots ſeized her; the old chief cut himſelf the ropes, with which ſhe was tied, and as ſoon as he got her into his power, gave the three Cherokees ſome hundred ſmall ſilver buckles, with which they were obliged to content themſelves.

Peggy

Peggy Flemming was delivered up by the old chief to his favourite WHITAKER (this was the name of the Virginian), who was become a Wyandot Indian, firſt from neceſſity, and afterwards from choice. She was provided with clothes, and carefully nurſed by this tribe. Whitaker had married a young Indian woman, who took the greateſt care of her. Soon after, ſhe was conducted under an eſcort of men and women of this tribe through the midſt of the woods to the banks of the Ohio, oppoſite to Point Pleaſant, where Mr. Johnſon learned from her the particulars of her adventures, and where ſhe now lives, in the twenty-eighth year of her age.

The Hiſtory of JAMES SKUYL.

It will be recollected, that Mr. Johnſon was ſeparated from James Skuyl on the fourth or fifth day of their march. The latter, with part of the troops, proceeded by a different road to the habitations of the Shawaneſe, where he was inſulted, beaten, and otherwiſe ill uſed. On his arrival, his wound was almoſt mortified, owing to the exceſſive fatigues of the journey, and the ſtings of the muſquitoes. He was, nevertheleſs, kept to the hardeſt labour of the tribe, i. e. he was employed to cultivate the ground. It is in general the employment of priſoners, if they have

any, to relieve the women of a part of the toils, which have fallen to their lot. James Skuyl, though extremely uneaſy on account of his ſituation and future fate, yet could not think of making any attempt to eſcape through foreſts, where at every ſtep he ran the riſk of falling in with Indians. The ſucceſs of ſuch an undertaking was ſo highly improbable, as to preclude every idea of it. Yet being one day informed by a woman, in whoſe company he uſed to work, and who ſeemed to ſympathiſe in his ſufferings, that he would be burnt within two days, he was irreſiſtibly impelled, to try every means of eſcaping ſo terrible a death. Furniſhed with a muſket, and ſome cakes of Indian corn, he ventured, one night, to elope from the habitation, in which he was guarded. He ſtole through the woods, and reached the bank of the river Miami. Here he was obliged to leave behind his muſket, though it ſerved, at once, for his defence and ſubſiſtence. Having faſtened his cakes to his head, he ſwam acroſs the river. He met great numbers of Indians, in ſpite of his anxious endeavours to avoid them; nay, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of paſſing by ſome of their habitations. The care he had taken in painting himſelf, ſome Indian words, which he had learned, during his captivity, and his firm deportment, gave him the appearance

pearance of an Indian, and from this ſuppoſition he was actually ſeveral times aſſiſted in his flight. When he thought himſelf out of danger, he had nearly fallen by one which he leaſt ſuſpected. Having reached the bank of Lake Ohio, he intended to croſs it in a veſſel, which he happened to find, in order to reach the iſthmus; the ferryman refuſed to take him on board, as he miſtook him for a ſpy, who intended firſt to ſeduce him, and then to puniſh him, if he ſhould yield to his intreaties. He alſo told him, that the preceding evening a troop of Shawaneſe had ſearched the banks of the river in queſt of a priſoner, who had made his eſcape on the day before that of his intended execution. He could not but recogniſe himſelf in this deſcription; celerity was therefore of the utmoſt importance, and yet he was compelled to repair to the maſter of the veſſel, whoſe habitation was two miles diſtant. He informed him, that he was the priſoner, of whom the Shawaneſe were in ſearch, and this man, fortunately more humane and leſs ſcrupulous than his ſervant, not only conſented to his going on board, but would alſo carry him over himſelf, that he might ſee him ſafe beyond all danger. Having arrived at Détroit, he traverſed Canada, and the Northern States, and at length reached Great Brayercourt-houſe, where he has ſettled.

ſettled. At leaſt he has hitherto given up the trade to Kentucky.

The Hiſtory of WILLIAM PHLYN.

The diſtreſſes of William Phlyn, who was delivered up to that tribe of the Cherokees called Chikamages, inhabiting a diſtrict adjacent to the great river Miami, conſiſted in his having been tortured two days together, until the fire put a period to his wretched exiſtence. He loſt his life, a few days after his arrival at the habitations of the Indians. James Skuyl, on his journey to the town of the Shawaneſe, ſaw the ſpot, where he had been burnt the preceding evening, but was not able to collect any farther information concerning the fate of this unfortunate man.

Although the three laſt ſtories contain but few particulars, and are not inſeparably connected with that of Mr. Johnſon: yet they will not, I think, be found altogether unintereſting, as they, in ſome meaſure, ſerve to complete his hiſtory. An acquaintance with that gentleman cannot but conſiderably heighten the joy, which his fortunate deliverance muſt excite in every feeling mind, and ſtamp his reports with the authority of indubitable truth.

I have forgotten to mention, that the two whites, who by their lamentation decoyed Mr. Johnſon

Johnſon and his companions, effected their eſcape the ſecond night, when the Indians, after the capture of the two veſſels, were almoſt all of them intoxicated with whiſky. Mr. Johnſon had ſtrong grounds to ſuſpect, that the Indians, from motives of friendſhip or of gratitude for their aſſiſtance in the capture of ſo rich a booty, forwarded their flight.

TOUR THROUGH UPPER CANADA.

Saturday, the 20th of June, 1795.

THE veſſels, in which we croſſed the river Niagara, belong to the Engliſh, and are, for this reaſon, in a better condition than the major part of the American veſſels or ferries, which are entirely left to the will and pleaſure of the owners, without any public officer taking the leaſt notice of their condition, and providing for the ſafety of travellers. The ferry conſiſted in a veſſel of conſiderable capacity, the ſides of which were one foot and a half high; it was tolerably ſtaunch, and ſufficiently large, to contain five horſes without any apparent danger. The maſter of the veſſel is directed to write down the names of the paſſengers; our's were already known. General Simcoe, governor of Upper Canada, informed of our journey by Mr. HAMMOND, the Engliſh ambaſſador to the United States, had long ago given notice by the poſt of our expected arrival.

arrival. Mr. Guillemard, who had croſſed over on the preceding evening, had announced our intended arrival on the next morning; and the Captain of an Engliſh frigate, which was receiving ſome repairs on the oppoſite bank, ſent us his boat, as ſoon as he perceived us. Our guide, PONDRIT, had preceded us to the river to call the ferrymen; and the ferry arriving ſooner than the boat, of the deſtination of which we were ignorant, we ſtepped into the former. The paſſage from the American to the Engliſh ſide requires four or five minutes, and from the Engliſh to the American ſhore about a quarter of an hour. Fort Erie ſtands on the ſhore of the lake, about two miles above the ferry. The commandant had deſired the captain of the frigate to ſupply his place, until he ſhould be able to viſit us himſelf. We thought it right to return this act of civility, by immediately ſetting out to preſent to him our paſſports. We did ſo, though we were not dreſſed to pay a viſit of ceremony; but the rain having made our appearance ſtill worſe, we determined on drying our clothes at the inn, until the weather ſhould clear up, and permit us to proceed to the fort. We were not yet dreſſed, when the commandant arrived at the inn, and invited us to dinner, acquainting us, at the ſame time, that he was directed to ſhew us every civi-

lity

lity in his power. This invitation was very agreeable to us; a dinner at a Governor's, after three day's travelling through woods, is a real feaſt. We accordingly attended him to the fort.

Fort Erie, as it is called, though we know not why,* conſiſts of ſome houſes roughly formed of wood, and ſurrounded with tottering paliſadoes. It has neither a rampart, a covert-way, nor any other works. The buildings, which are all of them block-houſes, are inhabited by the officers, ſoldiers, and a commiſſary of proviſion. Without the precincts of the fort, ſtand four ſimilar houſes, deſtined for the habitation of the workmen, and a large magazine, or ſtore-houſe, belonging to the king. The upper ſtory juts out beyond the ground floor, ſo that all who ſhould attempt to approach the ſtore-houſe, might be eaſily kept off with firelocks, by means of openings made in the upper ſtory.† This fort is to be conſidered merely as a point of defence againſt the Indians for the Britiſh trade on the lake, at the extremity of which it ſtands. The term

* Dr. Morſe ſays, that Fort Erie is a *ſtrong fortification*; an aſſertion, which it is impoſſible to reconcile with the deſcription given by the Duke, but by ſuppoſing it to have undergone conſiderable improvement ſince 1795.—*Tranſ.*

† Buildings of this conſtruction are very common in the United States, as well as in Britiſh America; they are called block-houſes.—*Author.*

FORT,

FORT, in its uſual import, cannot by any means be applied to this place, which is even now in a worſe ſituation than formerly, ſince the impending ſurrender of the forts ſituated on the oppoſite ſhore to the Americans, leaves the Engliſh no alternative, but to have either no forts at all on this ſide of the lake, or to put thoſe which they ſhall maintain in a reſpectable ſtate of defence. Fort Erie is garriſoned by a company of the fifth regiment, the captain of which company is, at the ſame time, the commandant of the place. Captain PRATT holds this command at preſent; on account of his long ſervice, he has been nominated major by brevet. The duty of the ſoldiers, who form this garriſon, conſiſts in ſtanding ſentries; but they are alſo obliged to ſerve on board the ſhips, which belong to the government. Almoſt all the proviſion, and all ammunition, without exception, come from England, and acroſs the lakes. The navigation on the river Niagara ends ſeven miles above Lake Ontario, whence there is a land-conveyance as far as Chippaway, nine miles diſtant, where the navigation for boats and other ſmall veſſels recommences, extending as far as Fort Erie. Here the goods, deſtined for Fort Détroit, are laden in ſhips, navigated by ſoldiers from Fort Erie to Fort Chippaway. The return paſſage is extremely

tremely difficult; and for this laborious task, they are allowed only fifteen shillings, to be distributed among five men, who compose the crew.*

The soldiers have a garden, where they cultivate the necessary vegetables, which by any other means they would not be able to procure. Their allowance of provision, which consists in a pound of flour, a pound of salt pork, four ounces of rice, and a little butter, a day, is, no doubt, paid for by the government at a very high rate; but to the soldiers it is delivered for two pence halfpenny a ration, which is deducted from their pay, amounting to six pence per day. All the troops, quartered in Canada, are treated in the same manner. Another company of the same regiment is at Fort Chippaway, and the remaining eight companies form the garrison of Fort Niagara.† Fort Détroit, and several other forts, which the English still hold in their possession, but which are to be given up to the Americans, are garrisoned by the twenty-fifth regiment. Fort Détroit stands at the end of Lake Erie, on

* This, no doubt, is in addition to their pay as soldiers.—*Translator.*

† Fort Niagara, as well as the other forts mentioned by the Author, were surrendered up to the Americans in July, 1796.—*Translator.*

the

the ſtrait or river, which ſeparates it from Lake St. Clair. It was erected about the year 1740. The inhabitants are moſtly French, and conſiſt of about three hundred families. It is ſaid to be in a very flouriſhing condition. About one hundred artillerymen are diſtributed in Détroit, Fort Niagara, and ſome other places, which I ſhall have occaſion to mention. The troops generally remain ſeven years in Canada, during which time the garriſons relieve each other every year. But the war in Europe, and the fear of a rupture with America, have occaſioned various alterations in theſe ordinary arrangements. The regiments now remain three years in the ſame place; a change, with which they alone are pleaſed, to whoſe lot it falls to garriſon the ſmall forts. For the ſame reaſons, the regiments at preſent have but half their complements.

A ſtore-houſe, belonging to a private gentleman, is alſo included within Fort Erie, but ſtands apart from the buildings, which appertain to government. In this magazine are warehouſed all the goods, which come upwards, and are deſtined for Détroit, as well as thoſe which go down the river to Niagara, Kingſton, Montreal, Quebec, &c. They are forwarded to their places of deſtination, either in boats, when they go down the river, or in large veſſels, when they are deſ-

tined for Détroit. The trade on Lake Erie is carried on in four or five merchantmen, beſides three or four armed yachts belonging to the king.

Peltry is the chief commodity exported from Détroit; but we alſo ſaw ſeveral caſks of very fine maple ſugar, made by the Indians. We were informed, that the quantity of this article, which paſſes yearly through this place, is very conſiderable; but were not able to learn its exact value in money. The owner of the ſtore-houſe hires, at times, about twenty Canadians, for the ſhipping and unſhipping of the goods, for carrying them into the magazine, and tranſporting the boats by land to the lower country. The Canadians no ſooner learned, that we were Frenchmen, than they expreſſed to us a ſatisfaction, attachment, and reſpect, repeated demonſtrations of which our peculiar ſituation obliged us to avoid.

The Chippaway, a king's yacht, commanded by Captain HARA, arrived here during our reſidence in the fort. He had been ſeven days paſſing the ſtrait, which ſhips frequently clear in two days.

Hard caſh or ſpecie is extremely ſcarce in this corner of the world. It can come only from Lower Canada, but they like to keep it in Quebec and Montreal. Nay, the pay-maſter of the troops,

troops, on pretence that the conveyance is dangerous, ſends no ſpecie for the troops, though he receives their pay in hard caſh. He could moſt certainly not refuſe it to the paymaſters of the regiments, if, for that purpoſe, they proceeded to Montreal or Quebec, where he reſides. But to undertake this journey at the expence of the corps, would occaſion too conſiderable a deduction from their money, which ſhould reach its deſtination without the leaſt diminution. He accordingly remits it in bills of exchange, which are paid in paper-money, that every one makes to any amount he chooſes, and which nevertheleſs is univerſally received with a degree of confidence, equal to that which obtained in France in the ſecond year of the revolution. There are *notes* of this kind of only two pence in value. They are ſmall ſlips of paper, either written or printed, frequently without any ſignature, and moſtly effaced and torn.

During our dinner ſeveral Indians arrived in boats. They formed a ſmall camp on the bank of the river, which we viſited on our return. We experienced from them the moſt cordial reception, to which, perhaps, the ſtate of one of our companions, not diſſimilar to that in which moſt of theſe drinkers of rum found themſelves, contributed not a little.

Sunday, the 21ſt of June.

After a hearty breakfaſt on board the Chippaway frigate, where we learned, that this veſſel, which is about four hundred tuns burthen, and pierced for ſixteen guns, coſt five thouſand pounds ſterling!—a proof of the enormous price of labour in this country—we embarked for Chippaway. Major Pratt inſiſted on our taking our paſſage in a veſſel belonging to government, as he had particular orders to that effect. He manned it with ſix ſoldiers, who were excellent hands at rowing; and alſo directed Lieutenant FAULKNER to attend us as far as Niagara. No denial, on our part, could prevail with him to withhold this act of civility, which, even during my proſperity, would have embarraſſed me, and which now bore the appearance of ſcorn rather than politeneſs. We were, therefore, obliged to ſubmit, and to aſſume the air of perſons, whoſe rank demanded this diſtinction. We were now approaching the proſpect of the Grand Cataract of Niagara, one of the principal objects of our journey, and which I had long deſired to ſee. We formed, every one of us, different ideas of this waterfall, according to our different powers of fancy; each ſtroke of the oars brought us nearer to it, and our attention being entirely turned

turned to diſcover the foam, and hear the noiſe, we took but little notice of the banks of the river, which, on the ſide of Canada, are tolerably ſettled, of the uncommon width of its channel, or the majeſtic courſe of its ſtream. At laſt we heard the noiſe, and perceived the ſpray. The weather was rather unfavourable, ſo that we could not, at any conſiderable diſtance, enjoy this grand ſpectacle. The rapidity of the ſtream, which is perceptible ſeveral miles from the falls, ſoon carried us to Chippaway. A whole mile before you reach that place, you muſt keep cloſe under the ſhore, without which precaution the ſtream would ſoon involve the boat, and irreſiſtibly hurl it to deſtruction. You muſt even make the utmoſt exertion in rowing to remount the Chippaway Creek, from which the fort takes its name.

We had no ſooner landed, than, with the utmoſt impatience, we haſtened to the falls, ſcarcely returning with due attention the civilities we experienced from Captain HAMILTON, commandant of the fort. We accepted, however, his invitation to dinner, which on our account he kindly deferred until four o'clock, mounted our horſes, and, with Lieutenant Faulkner, proceeded to the falls. The diſtance of Chippaway from the falls, in a ſtraight line, is but a mile and a half; but the banks of the river form ſo

many flexures, that the road, which winds along them, is three miles long.

At Chippaway the grand ſpectacle begins. The river, which has been conſtantly expanding from Fort Erie to this place, is here upwards of three miles wide; but on a ſudden it is narrowed, and the rapidity of the ſtream redoubled by the declivity of the ground on which it flows, as well as the ſudden contraction of its bed. The channel is rocky; and the interſperſed fragments of rocks encreaſe the violence of the ſtream. The country is flat and even to this point; but here a range of white rocks ariſes on each ſide of the river, which is contracted to half a mile's breadth. This range is a branch of the Alleghany mountains*, which, proceeding from Florida, previouſly to their reaching this point, interſect the whole continent of America. The river, more cloſely hemmed in by the rocks on the right, incroaching upon its channel, branches into two arms, one of which flows along the bank, formed by the rocks on the right; and the other, far more conſiderable, being ſeparated by

* This principal ridge of the Alleghany mountains, which extend north-eaſt and ſouth-eaſt, nearly parallel to the ſea coaſt, about nine hundred miles in length, and from ſixty to one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles in breadth, is deſcriptively named *the back-bone of the United States.*—*Tranſ.*

a ſmall

a ſmall iſland, makes ſtraight on to the left, and ſweeps through a baſon of ſtone, which it fills with much foam and noiſe. At length, being again obſtructed by other rocks, which it meets on its right, it alters its courſe with redoubled violence, and along with the right arm ruſhes down a perpendicular ledge of rocks one hundred and ſixty feet high*, nearly half concave, and probably worn out by the inceſſant impetuoſity of the waters. Its width is nearly equal to that of its bed, the uniformity of which is only interrupted by an iſland, which ſeparates the two arms, reſts unſhaken on its rocky baſis, and ſeems, as it were, to ſwim between the two ſtreams, which ruſh down at once into this ſtupendous chaſm. The waters of the lakes Erie, Michigan, St. Clair, Huron, and Lake Superiour, and of the numerous rivers, emptying themſelves into theſe lakes, inceſſantly replace the water that thus daſhes down. The water of the falls tumbles perpendicularly on the rocks. Its colour is, at times, a dark green, at others a foaming white, brilliant throughout, and diſplaying a thouſand variegations, as it is ſtruck by the rays of the ſun, or, according to the time

* Other accounts ſay, that the perpendicular height at the cataract is only one hundred and thirty-ſeven or one hundred and fifty feet.—*Tranſl.*

of the day, the ſtate of the atmoſphere, the force of the wind, &c. The water, which ruſhes down the rocks, riſes in part in a thick column of miſt, often towering above the height of the falls, and mixing with the clouds. The remainder, broken in its perpendicular deſcent by fragments of rocks, is in continual agitation; ſpouts and foams, and caſts on ſhore logs of wood, whole trees, boats, and wrecks, which the ſtream has ſwept along in its courſe. The bed of the river, formed by the two ridges of rocks which extend a great way farther, is ſtill more narrowed, as if part of this mighty ſtream had vaniſhed during the fall, or were ſwallowed up by the earth. The noiſe, agitation, irregularity, and rapid deſcent of the ſtream, continue ſeven or eight miles farther on, and the river does not become ſufficiently placid for a ſafe paſſage till it reaches Queenstown*, nine miles from the falls.

I crept down to the cataract; the deſcent is very difficult; perpendicular ſteps, hewn out of trees, caverns, and projecting rocks, the ſcattered fragments of which warn the traveller of the danger from the deſcent, without offering any hold, except ſome decayed buſhes, which the imprudent adventurer, who ſhould place any depen-

* In Upper Canada, on the weſt ſide of the ſtraits of Niagara.—*Tranſl.*

dence

dence on them, would carry with him into the unfathomed abyſs. Every thing ſeems calculated to ſtrike with terror; but curioſity is as heedleſs as any other paſſion. The certain proſpect of a ſplendid fortune would hardly induce me to attempt, what I at this moment did from the mere impulſe of curioſity. I frequently crawled along on both hands; the zeal with which I purſued my object gave me a dexterous activity, which I was not conſcious of poſſeſſing. I ſeveral times abandoned myſelf entirely to chance, and thus I toiled a mile and half to reach the foot of this ſtupendous cataract. The pleaſing conſciouſneſs of having attained our end is the only reward of the exertions, by which we have obtained ſucceſs. In the courſe of our life we frequently meet with ſimilar inſtances.

Near this ſpot is a whirlpool, the ſpray of which drenches your clothes even at a diſtance. The columns of foam, ariſing from the falls, mix again with the deſcending ſtream. The baſon itſelf is hidden by this thick cloud, and the tremendous noiſe, which is more violent here than any where elſe, is the only enjoyment to be attained. You may proceed a few paces on pieces of rock, lying between the column of water and the rocks from which it ruſhes down; but here you

you are completely ſequeſtered from the world, you are even deprived of the proſpect of the falls by the column of water, which, by its denſity and motion, intercepts the free acceſs of air to ſuch a degree, that ſuffocation muſt unavoidably be the reſult of a long continuance in this place.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the impreſſion, which this cataract made upon our minds. Fancy, which had long cheriſhed the hope of viewing it, now offered pictures, which might ſeem exaggerated, yet were much inferior to the reality. To attempt a deſcription of the impreſſion we felt, would be equivalent to a deſcription of the falls; an attempt far exceeding our powers. The enthuſiaſm, which ſeized my ſoul at the aſpect of this magnificent ſpectacle, was too powerful to be weakened by our unpleaſant journey back to the Fort; and it was not until I arrived at Captain Hamilton's, that I found leiſure to notice my wearineſs, my hunger, my bruiſes, the miſerable condition of my clothes, and the time of the day.—It was two o'clock.

Poor Lieutenant Faulkner, who thought himſelf obliged to attend *my Highneſs*, unfortunately partook not of my enthuſiaſm, but merely aſſociated in my ſtruggles with various obſtacles, and bore his ſhare of contuſions and fatigue. In

ſpite

ſpite of his exceſſive politeneſs. he ſeemed extremely ſad and dull, until ſome glaſſes of wine had cheered up his ſpirits.

Captain Hamilton, commandant of Fort Chippaway, which is even inferior in ſtrength to Fort Erie, was ſo kind as to detain us to dinner. The *ennui* naturally reſulting from this dreary port, the moſt dull of any, is beguiled by the ſociety of a handſome, ſweet, and lovely wife, and ſix children, who conſtantly ſurround him. They both received us in that plain, cordial, and eaſy manner, which characteriſes perſons who have conſtantly frequented the beſt ſociety.

Chippaway was formerly the chief place of an Indian tribe, which now inhabits the borders of Virginia. The carriage rendered neceſſary by the water-fall and its continued effects ends here. Previous to the treaty of peace of 1783, veſſels were laden and diſcharged on the other ſide of the river near fort Sluſher *, oppoſite Chippaway.

Beſides the barracks, here as at Fort Erie, are ſtore-houſes, which belong to government; and others, appertaining to merchants. The whole village conſiſts of a tolerable inn, and a ſmall number of other houſes; the ſtagnant water of

* The author miſnames the fort, which he calls fort Skuyler.—*Tranſl.*

the

the creek renders it very unhealthy, and to this circumſtance are imputed the endemic fevers, which every year afflict the inhabitants of this place.

Monday, the 22d of June.

We left Chippaway early in the morning, with an intention of once more viſiting the falls. The rain, which fell in torrents, could not deter us from our deſign. I ſaw it now from a ſpot, from which Mr. de Blacons had viewed it the preceding evening, and to which he deſired to conduct us. This place is known in the country by the name of Table-Rock, and forms a part of the rock over which the river precipitates itſelf. You here ſtand in the midſt of its bed, and almoſt in the water, ſo that you can, with perfect ſafety, ſee the river ruſhing down at your feet; but, advancing only two paces, you would be hurried to deſtruction. On this ſpot you alſo enjoy the beautiful proſpect of the foaming water daſhing along over the rapids of the awful fall, from which you are not ſeparated by any intervening object, and of the tremendous whirlpool, which engulfs it. It is *from this ſpot*, that this wonder of nature ſhould be viewed, if you would ſee it but *from one ſpot*. But it ought to be contemplated from all ſides; your

your aſtoniſhment will conſtantly riſe, and you will behold and admire in awful ſilence.

The deſcent is more eaſy to the Table-rock than to any other ſpot. It is much to be regretted, that the government of a people, which ſurpaſſes all other nations for fondneſs in travelling and curioſity, ſhould not have provided convenient places for obſerving this celebrated phenomenon, at all poſſible points of view. It is pleaded in excuſe, that the number of travellers, whom curioſity leads to this ſpot, is inconſiderable; that even they, who travel this way on account of buſineſs, and ſtop here to view the falls, are few in number; that only hunting Indians and idle children form the idea of creeping down to the falls; and that conſequently nobody would be benefited by the money expended in providing an eaſy acceſs. Yet all theſe pleas cannot juſtify a ſaving of thirty dollars, for which expence the greateſt curioſity in the known world would be rendered acceſſible.

It is ſuperfluous to mention, that, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the winter in this country, the *cataract*, as well as the river above it, are never frozen. But this is not the caſe with the lakes, and ſmaller rivers, which ſupply it with water. Enormous flakes of ice ruſh conſtantly down this cataract, when the thaw ſets in, without

out being entirely dashed to pieces on the rocks; and thus are frequently piled in huge masses, up to half its height. With the noise, occasioned by the falls, we were less struck than we expected; and Mr. Guillemard, as well as myself, who had both seen the Rhine-fall near Schafhausen, could not but acknowledge, that the noise it produces is far more striking. Yet, I must repeat it again and again, that nothing can stand the test of comparison with the Falls of Niagara. Let no one expect to find here something pleasing, wildly beautiful or romantic; all is wonderfully grand, awful, sublime; every power of the soul is arrested; the impression strikes deeper, the longer you contemplate, and you feel more strongly the impossibility of any expressions doing justice to your perceptions and feelings.

About a mile above the falls, two corn-mills and two saw-mills have been constructed in the large bason, formed by the river on the left. We examined, with peculiar attention, the most distant of them. It is the most remarkable chiefly on this account, that the logs are cut here into boards, thrown into the Chippaway creek near its mouth, and by means of a small lock conveyed into a canal, formed within the bed of the river by a double row of logs of timber, fastened together and floating on the water. The breaking

ing of these is prevented by other large balks floating at a certain distance from each other, which form, as it were, the basis of this artificial canal. The water retains in this canal the rapidity of the current, and conveys the logs into the lower part of the mill, where, by the same machinery which moves the saws, the logs are lifted upon the jack and cut into boards. Only two saws at a time are employed in this mill. The power of the water is almost boundless, but the present wants of the country do not require a greater number of saws. The very intelligent owner of the mill has constructed it on a plan, which admits of the addition of a greater number of courses, according as these shall be required by an increased consumption. On the same principle he has built his corn-mill, which has at present only four courses. The miller's dues for grinding, as fixed by the legislative power, amounts to a twelfth throughout all Upper Canada, and for sawing logs to a moiety of the wood sawed.

In the course of last year a sulphureous spring was discovered at a few yards distance from the bank of the river, which was, however, filled up by the fall of earth crumbling from its verge. This spring has again of late shewn itself in the canal, which conveys the blocks to the mill. A stone, laid

laid over the ſpring, prevents its water from being mixed with that of the river. On the approach of a fire-brand the vapour or ſteam kindles, aſſumes the colour of burning ſpirit of wine, and burns down to the bottom. Much time will probably elapſe, before an enquiry ſhall be inſtituted, whether this ſpring be endowed with any medicinal powers.

An iron-mine, too, has lately been diſcovered near Chippaway creek. A company has aſſociated for the working of this mine, and reſolved on erecting an iron-forge in the vicinity of the falls. But this they dare not eſtabliſh without the governor's permiſſion; for the mother country ſtill perſiſts in ſupplying all its colonies with its own manufactures; and refuſes to relinquiſh a monopoly, that has already coſt it that part of America, which compoſes the United States*. But the company hope to obtain the deſired permiſſion.

The land all along the road from Chippaway to New York is ſeemingly good, though not of the beſt quality, and exhibits a conſiderable number of dwelling-houſes. The grants of land, made by government in this country, are ſome of them

* Impolitic diſputes, chiefly relative to the right of taxation, not this monopoly, occaſioned the diſmemberment of the Britiſh Empire in America.—*Tranſl.*

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of a recent, others of a more ancient date; the first settlements are hardly ten years old, and the major part only three or four. The houses, entirely built with logs, are better constructed, and more cleanly than in most other parts of the United States. The mode of agriculture appears to be much the same, as in other parts of the Union. The common price of land in this neighbourhood is one pound, New York currency, or two dollars and half an acre, if the proportion of the cleared ground to the wooded be as forty to two hundred, or nearly so. Peculiar circumstances, a favourable situation, more extensive buildings, &c. enhance the price. Throughout this whole tract of country, labourers are not easily procured; and they receive, besides their board, from five to six shillings per day. The winter continues only from the middle of December to the beginning of April.

The roads from fort Erie to Newark are tolerably open, and lie for the most part over a sandy ground, which renders it more easy to keep them in repair. The frequent passage to and fro, in this part of the country, does not destroy them. Such commodities, as are destined for the upper country, are unshipped in Queen's Town, and goods, expedited from it, are embarked in this place. The different buildings, constructed three

years ago, consist of a tolerable inn, two or three good store-houses, some small houses, a block-house of stone, covered with iron, and barracks, which should be occupied by the regiment of General Simcoe, but which are now unoccupied, the regiment being quartered in another part of the province. Mr. Hamilton, an opulent merchant, who is concerned in the whole inland trade of this part of America, possesses, in Queen's Town, a very fine house, built in the English style; he has also a farm, a distillery, and tan-yard. This merchant bears an excellent character; he is a member of the Legislature of Upper Canada, but at present in England.

The portage was formerly on the other side of the river; but as this, by virtue of the treaty, falls under the American dominion; government has removed it hither. The whole country, though extremely sandy, is covered with oak, chesnuts, and fine hickory trees, and such parts, as are better watered, bear, in common with all other parts of America, ash and maple-trees.

It was on this spot, that Mr. de la Jonquiere, commissioned by the French Court to secure the free navigation of the lakes to French traders, formed his first settlements, which by permission, and under the protection of the Indian tribe of the Yonnowshouans, (who, with many other

other tribes, have vaniſhed from this part of the globe), were afterwards transferred to Niagara.

From the civil treatment we experienced, as ſoon as we reached the boundaries of the government of General Simcoe, we could not but expect a kind reception on his part; and yet the event exceeded our expectation. No ſooner was he informed of our arrival, than he ſent his adjutant-general to invite us to dinner. Having juſt alighted from his horſe, he could not come himſelf. We accepted his invitation, and ſhortly after dinner, he entreated us to remain with him, to ſleep in his houſe, and conſider ourſelves as at home. To refuſe this invitation would have ill correſponded with the politeneſs of his conduct, of the ſincerity of which we were convinced. By accepting it, we greatly promoted our own convenience, as we had no viſits to pay in the town, which is full half a mile diſtant from the Governor's houſe, and could not but expect to be moſt agreeably entertained in his ſociety, and to obtain from him the moſt ſatisfactory information reſpecting the country, which ſo forcibly engaged our curioſity and attention.

We ſoon underſtood, that we ſhould be obliged to continue longer in Niagara than we originally deſigned. On my acquainting General Sim-

coe with my intention to proceed to Quebec, he informed me, that, without the expreſs permiſſion of Lord DORCHESTER, it was not in his power to allow any foreigner to enter Lower Canada; he even ſhewed us the Governor-general's poſitive orders to that effect, iſſued in the month of October, and occaſioned by the conduct of ſome Frenchmen. Although the wiſe meaſures of prevention, adopted by the Governor-general, as well as all other ſteps tending to avert a revolution, met with my fulleſt approbation; yet I could not but find it extremely unpleaſant, that Mr. Hammond in ſo poſitive a manner ſhould have aſſured me of Lord Dorcheſter's perfect concurrence with him on the ſcore of my intended journey. On his aſſerting, that a paſſport, granted by him, was the only ſufficient mean to enable a foreigner to proceed from the United States into Lower Canada, I entreated him, in addition to this paſſport, to write a letter to Lord Dorcheſter, who, by ordering the ſubordinate commander to let us paſs, would have ſaved us a tedious delay in our journey, and the uneaſineſs naturally ariſing from our incommoding Governor Simcoe for ſuch a length of time. Yet, we were neceſſitated to conceal our diſſatisfaction, and wait until Lord Dorcheſter could ſend his

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anſwer to Kingſton, to which I requeſted him to direct it.

I employed my long reſidence in Niagara, to acquire ſome knowledge of the country, the attainment of which was greatly facilitated by the generous openneſs of Governor Simcoe.

So late as in the year 1791, the adminiſtration of Upper Canada was ſeparated from that of Lower Canada. It formerly conſtituted a part of the province of Quebec. The adminiſtration of it was much the ſame as that of the Engliſh colonies, and depended entirely on the will and pleaſure of the Governor; yet was undoubtedly here conducted with ſtill more precaution, not only becauſe Lord Dorcheſter, by all accounts, is a man of a mild and juſt diſpoſition, but alſo becauſe the leſſon, given by the United States, will not prove altogether fruitleſs. The Britiſh Parliament, at the ſame time when it divided theſe two tracts of the province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, gave them a repreſentative form of government, which, though all the ſprings of this political machine are yet in the hands of the Governor-general, is framed in ſuch a manner, that if this country ſhould grow more populous, more opulent and enlightened, it will not prove an arduous taſk, to reſcue the management of public affairs from this influence, which

at preſent is very great, and, in the actual ſtate of things, perhaps abſolutely neceſſary.

Lord Dorcheſter is Governor-general of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in North America; the governors of the different provinces are only lieutenant-governors; who, whenever he appears, yield to his ſuperior authority; and are alſo reſponſible to him in all military affairs, if they be gentlemen of the army, which is by no means an indiſpenſible qualification for the place of a lieutenant-governor. In regard to ſtate-affairs of whatever nature and complexion, the lieutenant-governor correſponds immediately with the Engliſh miniſtry. It is from them he receives his orders and inſtructions, without being obliged to communicate them to the governor-general, who is not even poſſeſſed of the right, on leaving the different diſtricts of his government, to give the ſmalleſt directions for what is to be done during his abſence. For this reaſon the Governor-general, except when preſſing military arrangements call him from the chief town of his government, conſtantly reſides there, while the lieutenant-governor, who has no buſineſs in that place, keeps as much as poſſible at a diſtance from it. But as no accounts of any public expenditure paſs, without being ſigned by the Governor-general, he poſſeſſes a powerful influence over all ſorts of operations

operations and projects, which at leaſt require his approbation; an influence that extends through all the different branches of his government.

The Britiſh poſſeſſions in North America are divided into Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunſwick, and Nova Scotia. Only the firſt two of theſe provinces are governed by the new conſtitution. The others are governed as in former times.

The boundary between Upper and Lower Canada lies about one hundred miles above Montreal*. The extent of Upper Canada far exceeds that of Lower Canada, as, the weſtern boundary being undefined, it compriſes all the known and unknown countries, extending as far as the Pacific or Great Sea, and is bounded northwards alſo by unknown countries. The population of Lower Canada is eſtimated at about one hundred and forty thouſand ſouls, and that of Upper Canada at thirty thouſand, but this eſtimate ſeems rather high†.

* The line between Upper and Lower Canada commences at a ſtone boundary on the N. bank of Lake St. Francis, in St. Lawrence River, in the cove W. of *Point au Boudet*, thence northerly to Ottawas River and to its ſource in Lake Tomiſcaning, thence due N. till it ſtrikes the boundary of Hudſon's Bay or New Britain.—*Tranſl.*

† Dr. MORSE eſtimates the population of both theſe provinces at one hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls. Lower Canada, in 1794, contained one hundred and thirteen thouſand and twelve inhabitants.—*Tranſl.*

The leading articles of the new conſtitution of Canada are as follows:

That the Province of Quebec be divided into two provinces; Upper and Lower Canada.

That it have two houſes of legiſlature; one hereditary; one elective.

That Upper Canada be deſtined for the reception chiefly of Britiſh ſettlers.

That the allotment of lands in Upper Canada be, under certain reſtrictions, left to the authority of the local legiſlature.

That the repreſentative houſe of legiſlature be ſeptennially elected.

That the clergy be provided for by an ample allotment of lands, amounting to one-ſeventh.

That certain titles of honour be connected with the right to a ſeat in the hereditary houſe of legiſlature.

That the liberty of introducing more or leſs of the municipal law of England be left to the diſcretion of the Provincial Aſſembly.

Upper Canada is a new country, or rather a country yet to be formed. It was probably for this reaſon General Simcoe accepted the government of it. He was fully aware of the advantages, which his native land might derive from ſuch a colony, if it attained perfection; and imagined, that means might be found adequate to this

this purpoſe. This hope was the only incitement, which could impel a man of independent fortune, and, as he ſays, of confined wiſhes, to leave the large and beautiful eſtates he poſſeſſes in England, and to bury himſelf in a wilderneſs among bears and ſavages. Ambition at leaſt appears not to have been his motive, as a man in General Simcoe's ſituation is furniſhed with abundant means of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by uſeful activity, without removing to a great diſtance from his native country, where, in ſuch a caſe, he is almoſt ſure of being forgotten. But, whatever have been his motives, his deſign has been attended with conſequences highly beneficial.

The plan conceived by General Simcoe for peopling and improving Upper Canada ſeems, as far as he has communicated it to us, extremely wiſe and well arranged. The central point of all his ſettlements, and of the population of this country, he means to place between Détroit River and the plantations already eſtabliſhed in Lower Canada, within a ſquare formed by Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, Détroit River, and Lake Huron. From a ſuppoſition that the Fort of Niagara would certainly remain in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, he at firſt intended to make Newark the chief town of his government. But, ſince it has been decided,

decided*, that this fort is to be given up, he has been obliged to alter his plan. A chief town or capital muſt not be ſeated on the frontiers, and much leſs under the guns of the enemy's fort. He has ſince thought of York, ſituated on the northern bank of Lake Ontario, nearly oppoſite to Niagara†; it is in this place he has quartered his regiment, and he intends to remove thither himſelf when he ſhall withdraw from the frontiers.

York, from its extent, ſecurity, and ſituation, offers an excellent road. The communication between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron is facilitated by ſeveral rivers and ſmall lakes. The ſurrounding territory poſſeſſes a good ſoil, and affords all poſſible means to improve the trade on the lake. Even in a military point of view its ſituation is very advantageous. The banks of Lake Ontario are likely to be firſt peopled by the Americans, and to become moſt populous; and Lower Canada will always prove to them an object of jealouſy and envy rather than Upper Canada. On this ground it is extremely important, to chooſe a

* By the Treaty of 1794.—*Tranſl.*

† York, deſigned to be the ſeat of the government of Upper Canada, is ſituated on the north-weſt ſide of Lake Ontario, forty miles north by weſt from Niagara Fort, and one hundred and twenty weſt-ſouth-weſt from Kingſton.—*Tranſl.*

ſituation,

ſituation, which renders it more eaſy to ſuccour ſuch points as are moſt expoſed to an attack. Yet Governor Simcoe ſeems to have relinquiſhed the idea of eſtabliſhing his reſidence, and the ſeat of government, at York. He intends to remove them to the banks of a river, which is to be found in all maps under the name of De la Franche, and which he has named the Thames. This river, which riſes between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, but is not yet ſufficiently explored, is ſuppoſed not to be far diſtant from the Miami or Great River. It flows four or five miles in a ſouth-weſt direction, and empties itſelf into Lake St. Clair. It is the Governor's intention, to build his chief town, to which he has already given the name of London, about two hundred miles diſtant from this lake. A communication between this river and another, which falls into Lake Huron, may be eaſily eſtabliſhed, in the vicinity of Glouceſter, and by land-carriage a communication may alſo be opened with Lake Ontario. The Governor is at the ſame time maſter of theſe two lakes, as well as of Lake Erie, which, though fifteen miles diſtant, he can reach without any intervening portage, but one of three miles. Moreover, that part of Lake Erie, which lies neareſt to the projected capital (Long Point), is exactly the moſt important point for the defence

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of the lake, and on this point, which lies oppoſite to the American ſettlement on the peninſula, the Governor means to form a harbour, and erect conſiderable works for its protection. If the capital be ſituated on this ſpot, it will of conſequence enjoy ſeveral advantages, beſides thoſe which York would afford. It ſtands nearer to the centre of the expected population; is more remote from the parts belonging to the Indians; and the Governor intends to ſtation the troops, which yet occupy the forts to be delivered up to the Americans, in the poſts of Glouceſter on Lake Huron, of Long Point on Lake Erie, of Michigan, in two or three towns, which are to be built on the banks of the Thames, and laſtly in York. This intended capital is ſurrounded by all poſſible means of defence, and is ſo ſituated, that it may ſpeedily give ſuccour, wherever it may be wanted.

From the readineſs which government diſplays in granting lands gratis, the Governor entertains not the leaſt doubt of ſoon obtaining a numerous population. Many families, who at the beginning of the American war embraced the royal cauſe, have ſince the concluſion of peace ſettled on lands, which were beſtowed on them gratis. The American ſoldiers, who fought under the ſame unfortunate banners, obtained alſo an indemnification in lands, on which moſt of them have

have ſettled. All officers, who ſerved in that war, are likewiſe entitled to ſome hundred acres, a certain number of which are already cultivated by them. The Governor is alſo ſanguine in his hopes of procuring many coloniſts from the United States; he relies on the natural fondneſs of theſe people for emigrating, and on their attachment to the Engliſh government. There arrive indeed every year a conſiderable number of families from different parts of the Union; they do not all ſettle, it is true, but ſome remain in the country. He alſo reckons upon drawing numerous ſettlers from New Brunſwick, who cannot endure the climate of that country. And laſtly, the conſiderable emigration from Europe, which he fancies he foreſees, affords him certain hopes of obtaining thence a very numerous population. Yet, by his account, the prevailing ſentiments of the people render the admiſſion of new inhabitants, who preſent themſelves, rather difficult; eſpecially of thoſe, who come from the United States. For this reaſon, he ſends ſuch coloniſts, as cannot give a ſatisfactory account of themſelves, into the back country, and ſtations ſoldiers on the banks of the lakes, which are in front of them. He would admit every ſuperannuated ſoldier of the Engliſh army,

army, and all officers of long ſervice, who are on half pay, to ſhare in the diſtribution of ſuch lands as the King had a right to diſpoſe of. He would diſmiſs every ſoldier, now quartered in Canada, and give him one hundred acres of land, as ſoon as he ſhould procure a young man to ſerve as his ſubſtitute. With his views to encreaſe the population of the country, he blends the deſign of drawing young Americans into the Engliſh ſervice, by which he will augment the number of American families, attached to the King of Great Britain. In the midſt of theſe families of ſoldiers, which he intends to ſettle on the lakes, and on all the frontiers towards the United States, he means to place all the officers, who, as has already been obſerved, have any claim on the lands. He propoſes thus to form a militia, attached to the King from habit and gratitude; and this he conſiders as one of the moſt certain means for ſuppreſſing the diſturbances, which might be excited by ſome diſaffected new ſettlers, who inhabit the midland counties, and at the ſame time as one of the beſt meaſures of defence in caſe of an attack. By this plan of ſettling amidſt the ſoldiers officers and gentlemen of reſpectable families, whom he hopes to attract from England, he wiſhes to form a claſs of gentry, and to promote more or

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leſs the execution of the project, clearly diſcernible in the new conſtitution, to introduce into the two Canadas an hereditary nobility.

It is aſſerted, that all Canada, vaſt as is its extent, produces not the neceſſary corn for the conſumption of its inhabitants; the troops are ſupplied with flour from London, and with ſalt meat from Ireland. In General Simcoe's opinion Upper Canada is not only capable of ſatisfying the wants of all its inhabitants, but alſo of becoming a granary for England, and of creating a conſiderable trade by the exchange of this neceſſary of life for other commodities; nor does he entertain the leaſt doubt, but that the activity, in agricultural purſuits, which he endeavours to excite in Upper Canada, will operate as a powerful example in regard to Lower Canada, and rouſe it from its preſent ſupineneſs and indolence. He conceives, that the vaſt quantities of fiſh, with which the lakes abound, and eſpecially of ſturgeons in Lake Ontario, afford the means of a ſucceſsful competition with Ruſſia, which ſupplies England with this article to a very conſiderable amount.

The corn-trade is, in his judgment, far preferable to the fur-trade, which appears to him at once unprofitable for Great Britain, and a means of oppreſſion to Canada, in as much as it throws the whole trade into the hands of a few companies,

nies, and at the ſame time renders them maſters of the commodities, which are imported from England in return. It is his wiſh, that merchants may ſettle on Lake Ontario, in Montreal, and in Quebec; and, by the eſtabliſhment of a corn-trade, deſtroy that monopoly which very juſtly excites his indignation; and he entertains hopes, that this will actually take place.

The maxims of government, profeſſed by General Simcoe, are very liberal and fair; he deteſts all arbitrary and military government without the walls of the forts; and deſires liberty in its utmoſt latitude, ſo far as is conſiſtent with the conſtitution and law of the land. He is, therefore, by no means ambitious of inveſting all power and authority in his own hands, but commits to the lieutenants, whom he nominates for each county, the right of appointing the juſtices of the peace and officers of the militia. By this meaſure, he thinks, he ſhall be able to attach men of weight and influence to government, and ſubordinate officers to their ſuperiors, and thus ſecure additional reſources for preſerving the good opinion and affection of the Canadians towards the Britiſh Government. All the juſtices of the peace, whoſe number is very great indeed, poſſeſs the right within their reſpective diſtricts of aſſigning, in the King's name, to every ſettler, with whoſe conduct

duct and principles they are acquainted, a lot of two hundred acres of land. The surveyor of the district is informed by the justice of the peace of the grant, made in favour of the new colonist, and of the oath of allegiance, he has taken; on receiving which information he gives the new settler a certificate, pointing out that part of the district, where he is to find the land, allotted to him by the magistrate. If he should wish for a greater quantity of land, he must apply to the Executive Council.

From the present smallness of the number of the inhabitants of Upper Canada; which, however considerable the migration may be, for a great length of time will bear no proportion to the extent of country to be peopled; General Simcoe entertains not the smallest wish to enlarge his territory at the expence of the Indians; on the contrary, he receives with the utmost kindness those whom the Americans drive from their habitations; and this conduct is extremely wise. If, on the one hand, the policy of the united States require that, in the intermediate space between them and the English, there should not reside a people, who may prove dangerous from their extreme susceptibility of seduction, who cannot be useful on account of their small number, and who, being a nation that lives by

hunting, demand a large tract of country for their ſubſiſtence; Governor Simcoe may, on the other hand, tolerate them, without the leaſt danger, on the frontier of the Engliſh poſſeſſions, connect them by this meaſure more cloſely with England, and exaſperate them againſt the Americans, in order to take advantage of their hatred in caſe of need; eſpecially as he finds they will, at any time, cede to him whatever lands he may deſire.

Although the fur-trade, in General Simcoe's opinion, is not ſo profitable to England, as many Engliſhmen imagine; yet he will not divide its profits with the Americans; who, by the ſurrender of the forts, acquire a ſhare in the navigation of the lakes, and excellent harbours on their coaſt; and of conſequence, are poſſeſſed of every means to participate in this branch of commerce. A communication, he thinks, may eaſily be opened between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, by means of St. Joſeph's River, which by relieving the fur-traders from the trouble and expence of the circuitous navigation of the Détroit River, of Lake Erie, of the Niagara river, and of a great part of Lake Ontario, would diſappoint the United States in their hope of receiving in future, as they have hitherto done, any articles acroſs the lakes from the foreſts, ſituate above

Lake

Lake Huron, and would at the ſame time free Engliſh ſhips from the neceſſity of paſſing by the forts of Détroit and Niagara, which are henceforth to belong to the Americans. Nay, he is of opinion, that a direct communication might be eſtabliſhed between Lake Huron and St. Lawrence river, which would however require ſeveral portages, on account of the numerous rapids which interrupt the navigation of that river, as well as of the ſmall lakes through which it flows.

The plan of military operation conceived by the Governor, in caſe of a war with the Americans, conſiſts in chiefly drawing them into the Engliſh dominions, where, under the protection of his forts, he can fight them to greater advantage. He further intends to eſtabliſh a reſpectable navy, compoſed of ſmall veſſels, mounting heavy guns, which no American yacht can dare to engage, and which, if a deſcent were openly attempted on the territory of the United States, would be well qualified to cover the landing. He alſo promiſes himſelf much from the aſſiſtance of his militia, with whom he would make conſiderable inroads into the heart of the enemy's country. The communication between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario appears to him ſtill more neceſſary in time of war, as by means of this communication he intends to convey into the latter

lake the galleys, bomb-ketches and gun-boats, which he purpoſes to build at another town, lying on the Thames, to which he has given the name of Chatham.

The views of Governor Simcoe, I mean thoſe, which concern the civil government, are undoubtedly extenſive, and well planned. They are, in my judgment, the beſt which can be conceived, in his ſituation, as an Engliſh governor; and the poſſibility of their being carried into effect cannot be queſtioned, if he poſſeſſes the confidence of government, and has plenty of money to expend. He may alſo, in the execution of his plans, derive conſiderable aid from the ſoldiers, quartered in his province. He is aware of the indiſpenſible neceſſity of habituating the troops to labour in a country, where he cannot hope to make them maſters of a complex ſyſtem of tactics, and where laborious habits peculiarly fit them for that ſort of warfare, which is beſt adapted to the ſmallneſs of their number, to the enemy they have to combat, and to the difficulties they have to encounter.

But the execution of his projects is nevertheleſs, upon the whole, obſtructed by numerous obſtacles; the greateſt of which conſiſts in the Governor's determination to return to England at the expiration of five years. A plan of ſuch vaſt magnitude,

magnitude, and which compriſes ſo great a variety of deſigns, can be carried into execution by him only, who was able to conceive it. From the very nature of the principles on which it is built, and the intimate connection of its various parts, the ſucceſsful execution of ſuch a project ſuppoſes, on the part of the executor, beſides a thorough knowledge of its ſtructure and complexion, courage, order, and a laudable ambition of achieving arduous and uſeful undertakings; requiſites, hardly to be met with in any perſon who may be ſent to ſucceed this governor. If ſuch a one be a man of moderate capacity, he will neither be able to purſue nor to execute a plan, which is not of a nature to be committed to ſubaltern officers; and if he be poſſeſſed of ſome parts, as is generally the caſe, ſelf-love will diſſuade him from purſuing a plan, laid down by another; and however poſitive and peremptory his inſtructions may be, at two thouſand miles diſtance they will be eaſily evaded. Add to this, that fondneſs for military power, and the love of arbitrary authority are in every region of the globe the uſual attributes of men in power. If, therefore, General Simcoe ſhould execute his deſign of leaving Upper Canada, two years hence, he will hardly find ſufficient time to lay the foundations of a plan, which appears to him, and I

think very juſtly, extremely well adapted to promote the proſperity of Upper Canada, and greatly enlarge the intereſts of Great Britain. The various branches of this plan, are ſo extenſive and ſo numerous, that a long ſeries of years, ſpent in the ſame ſpirit and unwearied exertion, will be requiſite to execute it in its whole extent.

But he himſelf, I believe, would meet with impediments in the execution of his plan. Although General Simcoe is entirely independent on Lord Dorcheſter in all civil concerns, yet he is not ſo in regard to the military department, of which the quartering of the troops forms a part. He told me himſelf, that, in this reſpect, he feared to meet with oppoſition; and I incline to think, that on this ſubject he did not expreſs all he knows. Unleſs the troops be ſtationed in ſuch poſts, as to cover and defend the projected capital, and the various ſettlements which he has in contemplation; unleſs they be kept to labour rather than military exerciſes, and unleſs thoſe, who can find ſubſtitutes, be diſmiſſed from ſervice, his project fails in three very material points, which can hardly be accompliſhed by any other means.

Lord Dorcheſter is advanced in years, and, like all aged people, no friend of new ideas. Beſide that he is fond of boundleſs power, the prevailing

vailing diſpoſition of the inhabitants of Lower Canada may excite in him a wiſh of drawing more troops into that province; and ſeveral hints, thrown out by General Simcoe, incline me to believe, that he thinks his Lordſhip has ſome ſuch intention. The Governor may alſo, perhaps, be too ſanguine in ſome of his expectations, or indulge deluſive hopes.

As to the emigration from the United States to Upper Canada, I mean a conſiderable emigration, it appears not to me altogether ſo probable as to him. The free grant of lands ſeems at firſt ſight a much greater inducement, than it actually is. The lands are indeed given away gratis; a certificate of the ſurveyor, granted by command of the Executive Council, gives the new ſettlers a right to the uſufruct of theſe lands; but the property thereof is ſooner or later transferred, according to the will and pleaſure of the Council. To the beſt of my knowledge, none of theſe free grants include a transfer of the right of property. If an occupier of this deſcription dies without iſſue, previouſly to his having acquired that right, his eſtate eſcheats to the King; no collateral friends or relations ſucceed in the poſſeſſion of the eſtate; and, of conſequence, the money and labour expended in its improvement and cultiva-

tion have been ſpent for the benefit of the Crown. In the United States, a new ſettler, on purchaſing a certain quantity of land, the price of which is to be paid by diſtant inſtalments, has a proſpect of diſcharging them by ſelling again a ſmall portion of his eſtate, the value of which he has doubled by cultivation; while the Canadian planter has to look for the permanency of his poſſeſſion merely to the will and pleaſure of the Governor; and, if he underſtand his intereſt, he will not place on him an implicit dependance. Intereſt and an acquaintance with ſubſtantial and reſpectable ſettlers may, no doubt, procure him, ſooner, the right of property, and thus facilitate a ſecond ſale. But favours of this kind are always confined to a part of the eſtate, and depend on the arbitrary will of the Council. As long, therefore, as there ſhall exiſt no law, determining the period and terms of the inveſtiture with theſe rights; the poſſeſſors will remain uneaſy and inſecure; and conſequently the progreſs of improvement will be greatly retarded. Mines of every deſcription, from gold down to pit-coal, which may be diſcovered in the lands, thus ceded, as well as all timber, which, in the judgment of the Surveyor-general, is fit for ſhipbuilding, are in all theſe grants reſerved in favour

of

of the King. All these restrictions cannot but render a good settler very uneasy, and may, in the estimation of many people prone to emigration, far outweigh the advantages of a free grant.

The attachment to the King of Great Britain, which is frequently alleged as a ground for emigration, seems an empty dream. It is common with all Englishmen, who hold here places under government, to boast of this attachment of many inhabitants of the United States of every rank and description. On what grounds this opinion rests, I know not; but it is certainly not warranted by what I learned in the United States. They there profess so loudly and uniformly principles, which indicate the exact reverse; that these professions ought doubtless to be considered as better pledges of the true sentiments of the Americans, than the assertions of a few Englishmen in place.

The families, who arrive here from the United States, emigrate most of them, it is asserted, from their being subject there to a tax, with which, however trifling it may be, they are yet displeased. If this be really the case, such a disposition cannot in future times prove favourable to Great Britain. We were also told, that General Simcoe, from his eager desire to people Upper Canada, is by no means difficult in regard to the qualifi-

qualifications of the new ſettlers, who preſent themſelves; and that, notwithſtanding his averſion to ſpeculations in land, and his perſonal diſintereſtedneſs; frequently a whole townſhip, nay at times two or three together, are aſſigned to one and the ſame perſon.

The Governor is of opinion, that the trade of Upper Canada may be encreaſed by the commodities of the Geneſſee diſtrict, for which he ſees no other outlet, but by the river of St. Lawrence. This opinion, however, ſeems to have no foundation; when it is conſidered, that Lake Oneida, the Wood-creek and Mohawk-river offer ready means for a water-communication with Lake Ontario and the North River; which is at preſent interrupted only at three places, where the boats are to be carried; and that the Americans, in every part of the Union, diſplay the utmoſt zeal, activity and induſtry, in every thing which tends to facilitate communication by water. But upon the whole the Governor's miſcalculations, originating from national prejudices, are of too little importance to impede the execution of his project; they may perhaps protract its completion, but cannot occaſion its failure. The true impediments are thoſe, which I have before mentioned, and the chief obſtacle is the Governor's return to England.

The

The preſent population amounts, as I have already ſtated, to thirty thouſand ſouls. The principal ſettlement is that of Détroit; which conſiſts, entirely, of French families, and is moſtly ſituated on a tract of land that, according to treaty, is to be given up to America. The Engliſh flatter themſelves, that the families, who have ſettled there, will remove from the American to the Britiſh ſide. But, if the conduct of the American government towards theſe families ſhould be ſuch, as the intereſt of America dictates; there remains but little probability, that they will leave their long cultivated eſtates, merely from a deſire of living under the Engliſh dominion. The other ſettlements in Upper Canada conſiſt in a very conſiderable colony, which ſtretches along the river from Fort Erie to Newark, is not fully occupied, and does not compriſe a large extent of ground; in a few plantations on the creeks, which run into Lake Ontario from Newark up to its northern point; in an inſignificant beginning of a ſettlement in York; and laſtly in Kingſton, extending along the banks of the river St. Lawrence to the boundaries of Lower Canada, which is the moſt populous of all.

As to the Governor's military plans, his meaſures of defence only are ſettled and determined; his

his plans of offenſive operation are ſo undefined and uncertain as not to deſerve any mention.

The hatred of the Governor againſt the United States occaſions him, on the ſlighteſt occaſion, to overleap all the bounds of prudence and decency, which he carefully obſerves in all other matters. He was a zealous promoter of the American war, in which he took a very active, yet very unfortunate, part. The calamitous iſſue of the war has ſtill more exaſperated his hoſtility; and it was with the ſincereſt grief I liſtened to his boaſting of the numerous houſes he had fired during that unfortunate conflict, and of his intention to burn a ſtill greater number in caſe of a rupture. In ſhort, the whole of his intentions on this ſubject was ſuch as the moſt violent party-rage alone can inſpire. He told us, that, in caſe of another war with America, by expending vaſt ſums of money, he would force them to expences equally great, which they would not be able to meet, and much leſs to ſupport for any length of time; in ſhort, wage againſt them a money-war. Yet he affirms inceſſantly, that it is his anxious wiſh to preſerve peace with the United States. This he very juſtly conſiders as a powerful mean of promoting the proſperity of his new colony. But his hatred againſt the rebels

bels is so violent; and his displeasure, occasioned by the surrender of the forts, is so strong; that the charge, preferred against him by the government of the United States, of his having last year assisted the Indians as much as he could, without making himself openly a party in the dispute, seems not devoid of foundation. By exciting this war, the successful issue of which he considered as certain, he attained the twofold purpose of satisfying at once his ambition and his revenge. He does not himself deny, that he had adopted the necessary measures for conducting to the district of Geneseee all the Indians, who were at his disposal, and who, by his account, amounted to five thousand men—measures which would naturally have been attended with the firing of all the habitations, and the slaughter of all the inhabitants. A war, thus barbarous and destructive, would have been waged by England at the end of the eighteenth century; and the founder of a colony, in every other respect a man of generous and noble feelings, would have projected and prepared it. I should not have credited these projects, had I heard them stated by any individual but the Governor himself; or should I have ventured to introduce them here, but that, within my knowledge, he has repeatedly communicated them to several other persons.

But

But for this inveterate hatred againſt the United States, which he too loudly profeſſes, and which carries him too far, General Simcoe appears in the moſt advantageous light. He is juſt, active, enlightened, brave, frank, and poſſeſſes the confidence of the country, of the troops, and of all thoſe who join him in the adminiſtration of public affairs. To theſe he attends with the cloſeſt application; he preſerves all the old friends of his King, and neglects no means to procure him new ones. He unites, in my judgment, all the qualities, which his ſtation requires, to maintain the important poſſeſſion of Canada, if it be poſſible that England can long retain it.

In his private life, Governor Simcoe is ſimple, plain, and obliging. He inhabits a ſmall miſerable wooden houſe, which formerly was occupied by the commiſſaries, who reſided here on account of the navigation of the lake. His guard conſiſts of four ſoldiers, who every morning come from the fort, and return thither in the evening. He lives in a noble and hoſpitable manner, without pride; his mind is enlightened; his character mild and obliging; he diſcourſes with much good ſenſe on all ſubjects, but his favorite topics are his projects and war, which ſeem to be the objects of his leading paſſions. He is acquainted

quainted with the military hiſtory of all countries; no hillock catches his eye without exciting in his mind the idea of a fort, which might be conſtructed on the ſpot; and with the conſtruction of this fort he aſſociates the plan of operations for a campaign, eſpecially of that which is to lead him to Philadelphia. On hearing his profeſſions of an earneſt deſire of peace, you cannot but ſuppoſe, either that his reaſon muſt hold an abſolute ſway over his paſſion, or that he deceives himſelf.

Mrs. SIMCOE is a lady of thirty-ſix years of age. She is baſhful, and ſpeaks little; but ſhe is a woman of ſenſe, handſome and amiable, and fulfils all the duties of the mother and wife with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs. The performance of the latter ſhe carries ſo far as to act the part of a private ſecretary to her huſband. Her talents for drawing, the practice of which ſhe confines to maps and plans, enable her to be extremely uſeful to the Governor.

Upper Canada pays no taxes, except a duty on wine, amounting to four-pence per gallon on Madeira, and two-pence on other ſorts of wine, and another of thirty-ſix ſhillings ſterling a year for a tavern-licence, which, during the ſeſſion of 1793, was encreaſed by twenty ſhillings Canada currency

rency [four dollars]*. The ſum total of the public revenue amounts to nine hundred pounds ſterling, out of which are paid the ſalaries of the Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives and of the ſecretaries; the remainder is deſtined to meet the expence which local circumſtances may require for the ſervice and maintenance of ſociety.

The juſtices of the peace determine in the quarter-ſeſſions, as they do in England, the amount of the county-rates for the conſtruction of public buildings, for the repair of the roads, and the maintenance of the army. (The laſt item is not yet known in Canada.) Theſe rates are raiſed by means of a capitation or poll-tax, aſſeſſed in proportion to the probable amount of the property of the whole who are in the diſtrict, liable to contribute; the largeſt aſſeſſment on any individual exceeds not four dollars.

On the ſame principle is raiſed the pay of the members of the aſſembly, who, on their return

* The value of money in Canada ſhould, according to law, be equal to that which it bears in Halifax, and conſequently a dollar be worth five ſhillings. This ſtandard is ſtrictly adhered to in all government accounts, but not ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerved in the courſe of private buſineſs. The currency, which circulates in New York, paſſes alſo, eſpecially in that part of Canada which borders on New York.—*Author.*

at

at the end of the ſeſſion, deliver to the juſtice of the peace of their diſtrict a certificate of the ſpeaker, proving the number of days they have been preſent, and receive two dollars per day out of the money raiſed for that purpoſe, including the days they have been upon their journey.

The quarter-ſeſſions are held in every diſtrict; and the diviſion into diſtricts is connected with the adminiſtration of juſtice. The juſtices of the High Court of Judicature for civil and criminal cauſes, who are three in number, including the chief juſtice, hold four ſeſſions annually in the town in which the Governor reſides. They alſo go on circuits in the different diſtricts of the province once a year; judges for the different diſtricts ſit at ſhorter intervals to ſettle matters of little importance, and the juſtices of the peace exerciſe the ſame juriſdiction as in England.

A tribunal, compoſed of the Governor and two members of the Executive Council, form the Court of Appeal in ſuch cauſes as have been decided by the High Court of Judicature. The Governor forms alſo, with the concurrence of an aſſiſtant, the choice of whom depends entirely on his option, a Court of Chancery for the deciſion of cauſes, concerning teſtaments, inteſtate heirs, orphans, &c.

Reſpecting the frequency and puniſhments of

crimes, Mr. WHITE, Attorney-general of the province, informed me, that there is no diſtrict, in which one or two perſons have not already been tried for murder; that they were all acquitted by the jury, though the evidence was ſtrongly againſt them; that, from want of priſons, which are not yet built, petty offences, which in England would be puniſhed with impriſonment, are here mulcted, but that the fines are ſeldom paid for want of means of execution; and that the major part of law-ſuits have for their object the recovery of debts; but ſometimes originate alſo from quarrels and aſſaults; drunkenneſs being a very common vice in this country.

The province of Upper Canada is divided into the four diſtricts of Détroit, Niagara, Kingſton, and St. John's. The juſtices of the peace are ſelected from among thoſe perſons, who are beſt qualified for ſuch an office; but, in a country ſo recently ſettled men worthy of this truſt cannot be numerous.

The diviſion of Upper Canada into counties is purely military, and relates merely to the enliſting, completing, and aſſembling of the militia. The counties are about twelve in number. Their names, with which I am unacquainted, are not of ſufficient importance to deſerve to be here mentioned. The militia of each county are aſſembled

bled and commanded by a lieutenant and ſecond-lieutenant; they muſt be divided into regiments and companies. They aſſemble once a year in each county, and are inſpected by the captains of the different companies at leaſt twice a year. Every male inhabitant is conſidered as a militia-man from the age of ſixteen to fifty. He is fined four dollars if he do not enliſt at the proper time; and officers, both commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned, who do not join their regiments at the time the militia are aſſembled, pay a fine; the former of eight dollars, and the latter of two. An officer, who, in caſe of an attack or inſurrection, ſhould not repair to his aſſigned poſt, would be puniſhed with a pecuniary penalty of fifty pounds ſterling, and a petty officer with a fine of twenty pounds ſterling. A militia-man, who ſells either the whole or part of his arms, ammunition, or accoutrements, is fined five pounds ſterling; and, in default of payment, impriſoned for two months. The Quakers, Baptiſts, and Dunkers pay, in time of peace, twenty ſhillings a year; and, during a war or inſurrection, five pounds ſterling, for their exemption from mili tary ſervice. Out of theſe fines and ranſoms the adjutant-general of the militia receives his pay, and the remainder is at the Governor's diſpoſal.

This is nearly the ſubſtance of the firſt act of

the legiſlative body of Upper Canada, paſſed in 1793. In the following year, 1794, an additional act paſſed relative to the militia, the chief regulations of which tended to improve and define more accurately the internal form of the regiments, battalions, and companies, and to render the aſſembling of detachments more eaſy and expeditious. This act determines, that, in time of war, the obligation to carry arms in defence of the country ſhall not ceaſe before the age of ſixty; and that, of conſequence, Quakers and others, who enjoy an exemption from military ſervice, ſhall pay for their immunity up to that age. It alſo obliges the militia to ſerve on board of ſhips and veſſels, to act as cavalry, and to extend their ſervice beyond the province, on condition however, that the ſame men be not bound to ſerve more than ſix months ſucceſſively.

The exemptions from military ſervice are confined to the officers of juſtice, and other public functionaries, whoſe number is very ſmall. The whole militia is eſtimated at nine thouſand men, for a tract of country of conſiderable extent, in which, however, the communication and aſſembling of the troops are much facilitated by the lakes.

All the expences of the civil and military adminiſtration of Upper and Lower Canada are defrayed

frayed by England. The ſum total, including the political expences, or the money paid to the Indians, though this forms an item of the military expenditure, amounts for Upper Canada to one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Nearly two-thirds of this ſum, or ſixty thouſand pounds, are paid to the Indians; including the pay of the principal agents, under agents, interpreters, &c. This pay deducted, all the other charges, occaſioned by the Indians, conſiſt in preſents, tomahawks, muſkets, powder and ball, knives, blankets, rings, buckles, hats, looking-glaſſes, and, above all, in rum. The agents are charged with the diſtribution of theſe articles, which by ſome are diſtributed every year, by others at various times, according to circumſtances. It is by theſe means the Indians are ſuppoſed to be gained over. Such of their chieftains, as are believed to poſſeſs conſiderable influence, obtain a larger ſhare of preſents; by which, and eſpecially by a profuſe diſtribution of rum, their friendſhip is gained and preſerved. The Americans are depicted to them as their inveterate enemies; they are made to ſwear, that they will burn and ſcalp theſe foes at the firſt ſignal. It was in this manner the Governor imagined laſt year, from the reports he had received, that he ſhould be able to diſpoſe of fifty thouſand men, who had all taken an oath,

not to leave a ſcalp on the ſkull of any American they ſhould fall in with. A relation of theſe atrocities has all the appearance of an exaggerated account of ſome nation of cannibals, and yet it is literally true*. The Engliſh aſſert, that the Americans, on their part, proceed exactly in the ſame manner.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the coloniſts, by their mean and barbarous policy, teach the Indians to deſpiſe them. But we may indulge a hope, that the time is not far diſtant, when the latter ſhall poſſeſs ſufficient ſenſe, to take the preſents of England and the money of the United States, and to laugh at both theſe great nations; ſcorning to be any longer the tools of their ambition and revenge.

We have here been told, that England's annual expenditure for Upper and Lower Canada amounts to four or five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; whether the penſions and donations which England beſtows on ſome inhabitants of the United States, be compriſed in this eſtimate, I know not; but this I know, from a very reſpec-

* With all candid readers it will undoubtedly be a matter of regret, that the author ſhould have preferred a charge of ſuch a ſerious and heinous complexion, without giving himſelf the leaſt trouble to ſubſtantiate its truth.—*Tranſlator.*

table

table ſource, that they amount to a pretty large ſum. Is it this circumſtance, to which Meſſrs. Hammond and Simcoe allude, when they ſpeak of the numerous friends of the King of Great Britain in the United States?

I have not yet mentioned, that the Governor is alſo Preſident of an Executive Council, compoſed of five members. In regard to the bills, which have paſſed both houſes, his aſſent or diſſent is determined by the majority of votes. But, as he appoints this council, and has alſo the power of diſſolving it, we may eaſily conceive, that it conſiſts of members entirely dependant on him. The major part hold ſeats in the Legiſlative Council.

An office, which was excluſively charged with preparing for the diſcuſſion and deciſion of the council ſuch matters as concern grants of land, has lately been aboliſhed. The Executive Council has reſerved to itſelf the introductory diſquiſition, as well as the definitive determination, of all buſineſs of this deſcription. The number of thoſe, who apply for lands, is uncommonly great. The claims of the petitioners are generally grounded on their attachment to the Britiſh Monarch, and their diſguſt or hatred againſt the government of the United States. But, under allegations of this kind, frequently lurks a ſpirit of ſpecula-

tion. Notwithſtanding the ſolicitude ſaid to be diſplayed by the council to diſcover the truth, many grants of land are made on no other grounds than favour. By the letter of the law, which, however, is often eluded, one individual cannot obtain more than one thouſand two hundred acres. Yet, as the grants contain no clauſe fixing the period within which the ground is to be cleared, ſpeculations frequently occur, and not the leaſt ſecurity is obtained, that the land will be a moment ſooner inhabited for being thus beſtowed.

I have already obſerved, that officers, who ſerved in the American war, have a right to a ſhare in theſe lands, which amounts, for a lieutenant to twelve hundred acres, and for a colonel to five thouſand. But officers, who never acted in the American war, nor ever held a colonel's commiſſion, have obtained ſhares as great as the largeſt allotted to thoſe who have. Theſe lands, though moſt favourably ſituated, are not yet cleared; nor is there the leaſt appearance of their being ſpeedily cultivated.

Every thing is exceſſively dear at Newark. The ſhops are few, and the ſhopkeepers, combining againſt the public, fix what price they chooſe upon their goods. The high duty laid by England upon all the commodities exported from her iſlands

iſlands proves a powerful encouragement to a contraband trade with the United States, where, in many articles, the difference of price amounts to two-thirds. The government of Canada is very vigilant to prevent this contraband trade; but a certain proſpect of gain excites to exertion, which will frequently ſucceed in eluding the law, as well as the vigilance of the executive power. The ſhopkeepers know perfectly well how to favour this contraband trade, the only means for deſtroying which would be to lower the duties, and, of conſequence, the price of the commodities. The Governor has it in contemplation, to encourage ſuch manufactures as produce theſe articles, which are *run* in large quantities into this province from the United States, ſuch as hats. But all his exertions to this effect will fail in regard to ſugar, coffee, tea; in ſhort, with reſpect to all commodities, which are directly imported from the United States, without being there ſubjected to as high a duty as in Canada.

During our long reſidence at Naryhall, all the inhabitants of an Indian village, of the Tuſcarora nation, came to congratulate the Governor on his late arrival at Naryhall. All theſe viſits and congratulatory compliments have no other object but to obtain ſome drink, money, and preſents. Theſe

Indians

Indians generally arrive in the morning, in veſſels, from the oppoſite banks of the river, which they inhabit. They were decked out with uncommon care, covered with rags of every deſcription, and adorned with horſe-hair, and feathers of all poſſible ſpecies of birds. In their ears and noſes they wore rings of the moſt varied forms and colours. Some were dreſſed in European clothes, others wore laced hats, and ſome were naked, excepting the double apron, and painted from head to foot. It is in the manner of painting themſelves, that their genius is eſpecially diſplayed. In general they prefer the harſheſt colours, paint one leg white, and the other black or green, the body brown or yellow, the face full of red or black ſpots, and their eyes different colours. In a word, they unite in their decorations the utmoſt abſurdity and harſhneſs. They are, every one of them, painted in a different ſtyle, and furniſhed with a ſmall looking-glaſs, which they every moment conſult with as much attention as the moſt finiſhed coquette. They comb themſelves again and again, and touch up the colours, which may have faded from perſpiration or exerciſe. Many of them wear ſilver bracelets and chains round their necks and arms. Some have a white ſhirt with long ſleeves over their clothes, and this forms their moſt

moſt elegant garment; the major part wear as many ſilver buckles as they can afford. In ſhort, their appearance calls to recollection the whimſical maſks, which throng the ſtreets at Paris during the carnival. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that their abſurd finery, in a great meaſure, conſiſts of things, which they make themſelves, of horſes', buffaloes', or other hair, or of the briſtles of the hedge-hog. They twiſt ropes of the bark of trees, and make laces of a ſpecies of herbs. Many of theſe articles, which they uſe to adorn their dreſs, their tobacco-bags, their ſcalping-knives, garters, and mockinſons, (a ſort of ſhoes) are made by the women, with a regularity, a ſkill, nay, I may ſay, with a taſte, ſeldom to be found in Europe. Their chief excellency conſiſts in the great variety and richneſs of the colours, which they generally extract from leaves, and from the roots of certain herbs; but they poſſeſs alſo the art of extracting them from all dyed linens and ſilks, of which they can obtain a piece. They boil theſe rags in the juice of a plant, with the ſpecies and name of which I am unacquainted, and thus obtain a very durable colour for dying hair or bark.

On their arrival this morning the Indian viſitors were about eighty in number. The Governor, being particularly engaged, deferred receiving their

their viſit until the afternoon; at which time only thirty made their appearance, the reſt being all drunk, and unable to move. The viſit was received on a large plot of graſs, without the ſmalleſt compliment on either part. The Governor was preſent, but kept at ſome diſtance. The Indians danced and played among themſelves. Some of their dances are very expreſſive, and even graceful. A mournful and monotonous ditty, ſung by one, and accompanied with a ſmall drum, ſix inches high, and three in diameter, forms all their muſic, except that frequently a ſtick is added, with which a child beats the time. They dance around the muſic, which they frequently interrupt by loud ſhrieks. The hunting and war dances are the moſt expreſſive, eſpecially the latter. It repreſents the ſurpriſe of an enemy, who is killed and ſcalped, and is performed by one perſon. The reſt are hopping about, like monkeys, in a ſemicircular figure, and watch, with the utmoſt attention, every movement of the dancer. The moment when the enemy is ſuppoſed to have breathed his laſt, a ſtrong expreſſion of joy brightens every face; the dancer raiſes a horrid howl, reſumes his pantomime, and is rewarded by univerſal ſhouts of applauſe. When he has thus finiſhed his dance, another enters the ſtage, who is, in his turn, relieved by others; and in this

this way the dance is continued, until they become tired of it. When the dance was over, they played at ball; a game in which they diſplayed their agility to the greateſt advantage. Every one had a racket, the handle of which was three or four feet in length, and bent at the end, ſo that the racket has the form of a bow. The packthread is made of bark; they graſp the racket with both hands, and run after the ball, wherever they ſee it, with the view of catching it, one before another. This ball is frequently thrown to a conſiderable diſtance, in which caſe they run after it all together, to catch it, either in the air, or on the ground. No buſh, no ditches, no barriers check their ardour. They clear every thing, leap over every thing, and diſplay, in this game, a verſatility, ſwiftneſs, and dexterity, which are truly ſtriking. During theſe games the agent came up to the general, with one of the chieftains, and told him, that the Tuſcarora nation wiſhed to learn whether they might aſſiſt at a meeting, to be held in Onondago by the Oneida Indians, for the purpoſe of ſelling a part of the Oneida reſervation, which the ſtate of New York had manifeſted a diſpoſition to purchaſe*. The Governor's anſwer was conceived in

* The Oneida Nation receives an annuity from the State of New York of three thouſand five hundred and fifty-two

terms extremely vague; the agent tranſlated this anſwer as he pleaſed, and in reply aſſured the Governor, in the name of the Indians, that they would not go to Onondago, from the hope that this would prove more agreeable to the Britiſh Monarch. Whether this political farce was acted only by the agent, or whether the chieftain took a part, I know not; but this I know, that this chieftain, a moment before, begged of me two ſhillings, for which he would have promiſed me, had I deſired it, to viſit or not to viſit all the meetings throughout the univerſe. Without entering further on this ſubject, I ſhall merely obſerve, that the whole policy of England, relative to the Indians, is in the hands of the agents, who alone underſtand their language, and have the ſole management of the preſents. It reſts entirely with theſe agents to perſuade all or any of theſe nations to engage in war, and to excite their enmity either againſt the United States or againſt each other. The Governor is altogether incapable of judging of their diſobedience and oppoſition to the orders of his cabinet but by the reſults. The ſame is undoubtedly the caſe as to the American States.

two dollars for lands purchaſed of them in 1795, and an annuity of about ſix hundred and twenty-eight dollars from the United States.—*Tranſlator.*

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The Engliſh agent, here referred to, is Colonel BUTLER, celebrated for his *. He is a native of America of the neighbourhood of Wilkeſbarre. His * * * * * * * * * * *. England has rewarded his loyalty with five thouſand acres of land for himſelf; the ſame quantity for his children; a penſion of two or three hundred pounds ſterling; an agency, worth five hundred pounds ſterling a year; and the privilege of taking from the ſtore-houſes, which contain the preſents, whatever he chooſes. He is treated with every mark of reſpect by the Governor.

The Tuſcarora Nation is an Indian tribe, the men of which ſhare the toils of their women in a greater degree than any other. The Governor mentioned a project, he has conceived, of giving a half civilization to all the Indian nations in the intereſt of England. Whether or no civilization be likely to promote the happineſs of the Indians, is a queſtion, a full diſcuſſion of which might, perhaps, exceed my powers, or at leaſt ſeem irrelevant. But, were I obliged to decide it at once, I ſhould anſwer in the negative, as long as they are not hemmed in too cloſely by the coloniſts, poſſeſs a ſufficient tract of ground for hunting, and have plenty of game. But, I repeat it once more,

more, to do juſtice to this queſtion would require a more profound diſcuſſion, than I can enter upon in this place. Beſides it can hardly be ſatisfactorily decided, ſince the ſtate of ſavage nations, left entirely to their primitive life, is widely different from the condition of thoſe, who reſide in the vicinity of theſe coloniſts, and hold intercourſe with them. If, on mature deliberation, we were obliged to allow, that the creation of wants, the neceſſity of providing for them, the exerciſe of our mutual powers, the unfolding of our faculties, and the refinement of our feelings, prove more frequently ſources of misfortune than of happineſs; every degree of civilization, pregnant with all theſe, ſhould carefully be kept, for their own ſake, from all ſavage tribes. But the ſame concluſion will not hold good in regard to a barbarous people, who, from their intercourſe with civilized nations, poſſeſs already ſome degree of civility; but a civility which acquaints them with vices only, and conſequently introduces them to ſources of misfortune, and who, therefore, from a higher degree of culture, may derive an alleviation of their fate and an increaſe of happineſs. As to the advantages likely to accrue to the civilized world from the civilization of the ſavages, the queſtion ſeems likely to demand a deciſion in the affirmative.

However

However this may be, the Governor, in conceiving this project, had not only the happineſs of the Indians in view, but alſo his own advantage. He intends to have them civilized by prieſts, and would give the preference to miſſionaries of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion. The policy of General S—— inclines him to encourage a religion, the miniſters of which are intereſted in a connection with the authority of thrones, and who, therefore, never loſe ſight of the principle, to preſerve and propagate arbitrary power.

I learn here, that rum enervates the Indians, ſhortens their lives, renders their marriages daily more barren, and, when fruitful, productive only of poor unhealthy children; and that, from the uſe of this poiſon, which now cannot either be wreſted from them, or rendered harmleſs in its conſequences, the different tribes are daily decreaſing in number.

Eighty miles from Naryhall, on the Miami, or Great River, is the ſettlement of Colonel Brant, with a view of which I ſhould have been much pleaſed; but he is not there at preſent, and they aſſure me that, in his abſence, I ſhould ſee nothing but what I have already ſeen in thoſe I have hitherto viſited.

Colonel Brant is an Indian by birth. In the American war he fought under the Engliſh ban-

ner, and he has ſince been in England, where he was moſt graciouſly received by the King, and met with a kind reception from all claſſes of people. His manners are ſemi-European. He is attended by two negroes; has eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Engliſh way; has a garden and a farm; dreſſes after the European faſhion; and nevertheleſs poſſeſſes much influence over the Indians. He aſſiſts, at preſent, at the Miami-treaty *, which the United States are concluding with the weſtern Indians. He is alſo much reſpected by the Americans, and, in general, bears ſo excellent a character, that I ſincerely regret I could not ſee and become acquainted with him.

The Indians, who inhabit the village, which we paſſed on leaving Canawaga, paid alſo a viſit to the Governor during the time we ſtayed with him. The weather being too hot for receiving the viſit on the graſs, he ordered them to be uſhered into a room, where he was attended by ſome officers of the garriſon. The chiefs of the

* The treaty, alluded to by the author, is the Greenville treaty, concluded on the third of Auguſt 1795, at Greenville, a fort and ſettlement on the ſouth ſide of a north-weſtern branch of the Great Miami, between Major-general A. Wayne and the chiefs of the following tribes of Indians, viz. the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawaneſe, Ottawas, Chippawas, Putawatimes, Miamis, Eel-river, Weeas, Kickapoos, Pian Kaſhaws and Kaſkaſkias.—*Tranſlator.*

Indians,

Indians ſaid a few words, which the agent interpreted to the Governor, as containing an aſſurance, that they would employ their tomahawks againſt any one he ſhould point out, and expreſſions of regret, that they could not uſe them laſt year againſt the Americans. The Governor thanked them for theſe ſentiments, endeavoured to confirm them in this friendly diſpoſition, and told them, that the King of Great Britain wiſhed for peace, whatever lies the *maize-thief* [Mr. P——, Commiſſioner of the United States] might have impoſed on them laſt year. They anſwered, that the Governor was perfectly right, and that P—— was a liar, drank as much as they pleaſed, and departed. The conference was held at eight o'clock in the morning, and before nine o'clock half of them were intoxicated. The Governor is very anxious to oblige and pleaſe the Indians; his only ſon, a child, four years old, is dreſſed as an Indian, and called TIOGA, which name has been given him by the Mohawks. This harmleſs farce may be of uſe in the intercourſe with the Indians.

The Niagara river and lake abound with a great variety of fiſhes. We aſſiſted at a fiſhing, intended to ſupply the ſoldiers with fiſh; the net was drawn thrice. One end of the net was held by men, who remained on ſhore, while the re-

mainder was carried into the ſtream by means of a boat, which, after the net had been entirely expanded, conveyed the other end back to the ſhore. Both ends are joined on the ſpot, whence the net is drawn. It is only four feet deep, but one hundred feet in length. Upwards of five hundred fiſh were caught, among which were about twenty-eight or thirty ſturgeons, ſmall pikes, whitings, rock-fiſh, ſun-fiſh, herrings, a ſort of carp, which in point of ſhape reſemble thoſe of Europe, but differ much in flavour, and in the form of their heads, ſalmon, trouts; in ſhort, all the fiſh was of a tolerable ſize. Middle-ſized fiſh are eaſily caught by anglers on the banks both of the river and the lake; they frequently catch more than their families can conſume in ſeveral days.

The town of Newark ſtands on the other ſide of the river, directly oppoſite to the fort. About a hundred houſes, moſtly very fine ſtructures, have already been erected, but the progreſs of building will probably be checked, by the intended removal of the ſeat of government. The majority of the inhabitants, eſpecially the richeſt of them, ſhare in the adminiſtration; and conſequently will remove, to whatever place the government may be transferred. In point of ſize and elegance, the houſe of Colonel SMITH, lieutenant-

lieutenant-colonel in the fifth regiment, is much diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. It conſiſts of joiner's work, but is conſtructed, embelliſhed, and painted in the beſt ſtyle; the yard, garden, and court are ſurrounded with railings, made and painted as elegantly, as they could be in England. His large garden has the appearance of a French kitchen-garden, kept in good order. In a country, where it is a hard matter to procure labourers, and where they are paid at the rate of one dollar per day, he finds, in his regiment, as many as he chooſes, for ninepence ſterling a day, becauſe the men otherwiſe do not eaſily obtain leave to go to work. It is in this manner he is now clearing five thouſand acres, which have been granted him, and has the uſe of thirty more, which belong to the King, are ſituate in front of the town, and which the Governor has aſſigned him, until he ſhall be neceſſitated to demand them again.

The ſcarcity of men ſervants is here ſtill greater than in the United States. They, who are brought hither from England, either demand lands, or emigrate into the United States. A very wiſe act of the Aſſembly declares all negroes to be free, as ſoon as they arrive in Canada. This deſcription of men, who are more or leſs frequent in the United States, cannot here ſupply the want of white ſervants. All perſons belong-

ing to the army employ ſoldiers in their ſtead. By the Engliſh regulations, every officer is allowed one ſoldier, to whom he pays one ſhilling a week; and this privilege is extended, in proportion as the officers have need of a greater number of people. The Governor, who is alſo colonel of a regiment of Queen's Rangers, ſtationed in the province, is attended in his houſe, and at dinner, merely by privates of this regiment, who alſo take care of his horſes. He has not been able to keep one of the men ſervants, he brought with him from England.

The regiments quartered in the vicinity of the United States, it is aſſerted, loſe much by deſertion. Seeing every where around them lands, either given away or ſold at a very low rate, and being ſurrounded by people, who within a twelvemonth have riſen from poverty to proſperity, and are now married and proprietors, they cannot endure the idea of a ſervitude, which is to end only with their exiſtence. The *ennui* naturally ariſing from the dull and ſecluded manner of living in garriſons, where they find neither work nor amuſement, and the ſlight attention ſhewn them by moſt of the colonels, darken ſtill more, in their view, the diſmal picture of their ſituation. They emigrate accordingly into the United States, where they are ſure to find a ſettlement, which, if they

they chooſe to work, cannot fail to make them rich and independent. To hold out to them the ſame hopes in the Engliſh colony of Canada, would be the only mean of rendering leſs dangerous the temptation offered by the United States. It is with this view, that Governor Simcoe very wiſely formed the project of diſmiſſing every ſoldier, who ſhould find an able ſubſtitute in his room, and to give him one hundred acres of land; but it is ſaid, that this project appears, in Lord Dorcheſter's judgment, to ſavour too much of the new principles, to obtain his conſent. If it were actually refuſed, ſuch an unreaſonable denial would more forcibly provoke the diſcontented of the troops, from their being already acquainted with the meaſure.

During our reſidence at Naryhall, the ſeſſion of the Legiſlature of Upper Canada was opened. The Governor had deferred it till that time, on account of the expected arrival of a chief-juſtice, who was to come from England; and from a hope, that he ſhould be able to acquaint the members with the particulars of the treaty with the United States. But the harveſt has now begun, which in a higher degree than elſewhere engages, in Canada, the public attention, far beyond what ſtate-affairs can do. Two members of the Legiſlative Council were preſent inſtead

of ſeven; no Chief-juſtice appeared, who was to act as Speaker; inſtead of ſixteen members of the Aſſembly five only attended, and this was the whole number, which could be collected at this time. The law requires a greater number of members for each houſe to diſcuſs and determine upon any buſineſs *, but within two days a year will have expired ſince the laſt ſeſſion. The Governor has therefore thought it right, to open the ſeſſion, reſerving, however, to either houſe the right of proroguing the ſittings from one day to another, in expectation, that the ſhips from Détroit and Kingſton will either bring the members, who are yet wanting, or certain intelligence of their not being able to attend.

The whole retinue of the Governor conſiſted in a guard of fifty men of the garriſon of the fort. Dreſſed in ſilk, he entered the hall with his hat on his head, attended by his adjutant and two ſecretaries. The two members of the Legiſlative Council gave, by their Speaker, notice of it to the Aſſembly. Five members of the latter hav-

* By the Quebec Act, paſſed in 1791, it is enacted, that the Legiſlative Council is to conſiſt of not fewer than ſeven members for Upper Canada, and the Aſſembly of not leſs than ſixteen members, who are to be called together at leaſt once in every year.—*Tranſlator.*

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ing appeared at the bar, the Governor delivered a ſpeech modelled after that of the King, on the political affairs of Europe, on the treaty concluded with the United States, which he mentioned in expreſſions very favourable to the Union, and on the peculiar concerns of Canada. Where no taxes are to be ſettled, no accounts to be audited and examined, and no military regulations to be adjuſted, public buſineſs cannot occupy much time. But, if even all theſe points were to be diſcuſſed, the buſineſs would ſtill be trifling, from want of an oppoſition; which ſeems to be precluded by the manner, in which the two Houſes for Upper Canada are framed. The conſtitution of this province is well adapted to the preſent ſtate of the country. The members of both Houſes, who bear a ſhare in the adminiſtration, are all of them as uſeful, as can be deſired, at this period. The influence of the Governor is not uſeleſs. And the other neceſſary arrangements, eſpecially ſuch as may enſure liberty and good order, will, no doubt, be made in the proceſs of time.

Fort Niagara ſtands, as has been already obſerved, on the right bank of the river, on a point, oppoſite to that of Miſſiſſogas, on which Newark is built. It was originally conſtructed by Mr. de

la

la TONQUIERE, three miles nearer to the falls; but was, ſome years afterwards, transferred to the ſpot, where it now ſtands, and where Mr. de DENONVILLE threw up an entrenchment. This fort, as well as thoſe of Oſwego, Détroit, Miami, and Michillimakkinak, are to be ſurrendered to the Americans *. Fort Niagara is ſaid to be the ſtrongeſt of theſe places, having been ſtrengthened with ſome new works, in the courſe of laſt year; eſpecially covered batteries, deſigned for its protection on the ſide of the lake and the river. All the breaſt-works, ſlopes, &c. are lined with timber. On the land-ſide, it has a curtain, flanked by two baſtions, in each of which a block-houſe has been conſtructed, mounted with cannon. Although this fort, in common with all ſuch ſmall fortified places, cannot long withſtand a regular attack; yet the beſiegers cannot take it, without a conſiderable loſs. All the buildings, within the precincts of the fort, are of ſtone, and were built by the French.

With very obliging politeneſs, the Governor conducted us into the fort, which he is very loath to viſit; ſince he is ſure, that he ſhall be obliged to deliver it up to the Americans. He

* All theſe forts were actually delivered up to the Americans in Auguſt 1796, purſuant to the treaty of 1794.—*Tranſlator.*

carried

carried us through every part of it, indeed more of it than we wiſhed to ſee. Thirty artillery-men and eight companies of the fifth regiment, form the garriſon of the fort. Two days after this viſit, we dined in the fort, at Major SEWARD's, an officer of elegant, polite, and amiable manners, who ſeems to be much reſpected by the gentlemen of his profeſſion. He and Mr. PILKINSON, an officer of the corps of engineers, are the military gentlemen we have moſt frequently ſeen during our reſidence in this place, and whom the Governor moſt diſtinguiſhes from the reſt. In England, as in France, the officers of the engineers and artillery are in general the moſt accompliſhed among the gentlemen of the army; and their ſociety is conſequently preferred. The officers of the fifth regiment, whom we have ſeen, were well-bred, polite, and excellent companions.

The communication of the fort with Newark is in winter intercepted for two or three months, by maſſes of floating ice, carried along by the ſtream. At times it is free for a few hours only. The Indians attempt, now and then, to croſs the river, by jumping from one piece of ice to another. But the number of thoſe, who venture upon this dangerous experiment, is never great.

Some trifling excurſions, we made in the environs

virons of the city; and eſpecially a tour of four days, with the Governor, along the banks of the lake; afforded us an opportunity of ſeeing the interior country. The chief purpoſe of this journey was, to reach the extremity of the lake. A boat, made of the bark of trees, and deſigned for the Governor's excurſions between Détroit and Kingſton, contained the whole company; which conſiſted of the Governor, Major Seward, Mr. Pilkinſon, us three (Mr. de Blacons, having left us two days after our arrival in Nary-hall), and Mr. RICHARD, a young Engliſhman, who arrived here by the way of the North River, and whom we had already ſeen in Philadelphia. Twelve *chaſſeurs* of the Governor's regiment rowed the boat, which was followed by another veſſel, carrying tents and proviſion. We halted at noon to eat our dinner, and in the evening to pitch our tents and ſup. In the morning, we walked, then breakfaſted, and ſet out to purſue our journey, which was rendered rather unpleaſant by a ſmall fall of rain.

Fortymile-creek was one of the chief objects of our tour. This ſtream, which interſects in a ſtraight line the range of mountains, extending from Queens' Town, flows, with a gentle fall, into the plain; and affords ſome wild, awful, yet very pleaſing proſpects among the mountains.

Before

Before it empties itſelf into the lake, it turns a griſt mill, and two ſaw-mills, which belong to a Mr. GREEN, a loyaliſt of Jerſey, who, ſix or ſeven years ago, ſettled in this part of Upper Canada.

This Mr. Green was the conſtant companion of the Governor on this little journey; he is apparently a worthy man, and in point of knowledge far ſuperior to the common caſt of ſettlers in this neighbourhood. His eſtate conſiſts of three hundred acres, about forty of which are cleared of wood. He paid one hundred and twenty-five dollars for forty acres, through which the creek flows, that turns his mill, on account of the greater value, they bear for this reaſon; the common price being only five ſhillings per acre. Land newly cleared yields here, the firſt year, twenty buſhels of corn. The ſoil is good, though not of the moſt excellent quality. They plough the land, after it has produced three or four crops, but not very deep, and never uſe manure. The price of flour is twenty-two ſhillings per hundred weight; that of wheat from ſeven to eight ſhillings per buſhel. The buſhel weighs ſixty-two pounds upon an average. Labourers are ſcarce, and are paid at the rate of ſix ſhillings a day.

Reſpecting the feeding of cattle, the winter is here

here reckoned at five months and half, and near the lakes often at ſix; on the mountains it is a month ſhorter. A few habitations are ſcattered over this diſtrict. Wheat is here, as well as throughout all Upper Canada, generally ſown; but other ſorts of grain are alſo cultivated. Wheat and rye are ſown in September; oats, in May; barley, in June; turnips, in July; and potatoes, in May. The hay harveſt falls between the 10th of June and the 10th of July. Rye is generally cut about the beginning of July; and wheat, in the latter days of the ſame month; potatoes and turnips are dug up in October and November. Graſs is, in general, mowed but once. Cultivated meadows are ſown with timothy-graſs. The cattle are fed, in winter, with hay; which is kept either in barns, in Dutch lofts*, or in ſtacks, after the Engliſh manner: the laſt are very badly made. Until the winter ſets in with great ſeverity, the cattle are left to graze in the woods; they tell us, that in all parts of Upper Canada, the ſnow lies ſeldom deeper than two feet. The whole of theſe

* In this neighbourhood, as well as throughout all the northern parts of the Union, they call a thatched roof of a round, ſquare or polygonal form, which reſts on long poſts, but can be raiſed or lowered at pleaſure, a Dutch loft.—*Author.*

obſer-

obſervations apply alſo to the cultivated ground near Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.

Mr. Green, who has a very numerous family, intends to bring up all his ſons to farming, and to build for each of them a mill, either on this or on a neighbouring creek. He grinds the corn for all the military poſts in Upper Canada; where General Simcoe has ordered all the flour of a good quality to be purchaſed, which ſhall be offered by millers in larger quantities than ſix buſhels.

The road from Fortymile-creek to the extremity of the lake, which we travelled, on horſeback, is one of the worſt we have hitherto ſeen in America. But for our finding now and then ſome trunks of trees in the ſwampy places, we ſhould not have been able to diſengage ourſelves from the moraſs. Along the road, which is fifteen miles in length, the ſoil is good; but we ſcarcely ſaw four plantations on the bank of the lake. At the very extremity of it, and on the moſt fruitful ſoil, there are but two ſettlements.

Burlington Bay borders on Lake Ontario. This bay is five miles in length, and communicates with the lake by a ſtreight ſixty yards wide; but this communication is interrupted by ſand-banks, which, at the extremity of the lake, form a bar, the baſe of which projects nearly half a mile

mile into the lake. This ſole paſſage excepted, the bay is ſeparated from the lake by an iſthmus, from two to four hundred yards broad. At the point, where this iſthmus begins on the ſouthern ſide of the lake, the unnavigable tract is about fifty feet in width. Small veſſels are worked up into a ſmall creek in the bay; whence they proceed without any impediment to any other part within its extent. The mountains, which near Forty-mile-creek reach cloſe to the lake, but afterwards recede to the diſtance of five or ſix miles, approach it again at the extremity of Burlington Bay. Their colour, as well as the quality of the intervening ſoil between them and the lake, affords ground to ſuppoſe, that they once formed its borders, and that the tract of ground, which now ſeparates them from its preſent bed, and which is covered with very old and beautiful trees, has been formed by alluvia from the waters of the lake. This range of mountains, after having formed an opening, through which a pretty conſiderable river empties itſelf into the bay, rejoin, bound the lake for about a fourth part of its length, and ſtretch thence towards Lake Huron, in the vicinity of which they divide into different branches, the farther direction of which is not known. The geographical knowledge of this country, as far as it relates to the courſe

of

of the rivers, the ſhape of the vallies, and the direction of the chain of mountains, is yet very imperfect. Governor Simcoe is aware of the neceſſity of its being enlarged and perfected. But, in a newly occupied country, like this, the number of objects neceſſary to be attended to is immenſe.

During the whole of our excurſion we paſſed through woods, copiouſly adorned with flowers of the moſt exquiſite hues and fragrance, the names of which we could not learn. The numbers of fragrant trees, of a ſize unknown in Europe, was equally great.

The banks of the lake are rather unhealthy, and intermittent fevers are almoſt as frequent there, as in the diſtrict of Geneſſee. But few ſurgeons reſide in the country; they are not ſuffered to practiſe, till after having undergone an examination by a phyſician, appointed by government. This prevention, which may prove very beneficial in future times, is at preſent of no avail. For, as very few apply for leave to practiſe, the moſt ignorant are admitted without difficulty, if they will only preſent themſelves for admiſſion.

By one of them I was informed, that the inferior claſſes of the inhabitants dread their advice in intermittent fevers, becauſe they always pre-

ſcribe bark; and that poor people, inſtead of following their advice, have recourſe to a ſort of magic charm, in which univerſal confidence is placed in this country. If ſeized with the ague, they go into the foreſt, ſearch out a branch of an elm or ſaſſafras, of the laſt year's growth; faſten to this branch, without breaking it off the tree, a thread, which muſt not be quite new; tie as many knots, as they think they ſhall have fits of the fever; and then return home, perfectly convinced, that they ſhall not experience more fits, than they have bound themſelves to ſuſtain, by the number of knots they have tied. The firſt diſcoverers of this arcanum uſed to make ſo few knots, that the ague would frequently diſappoint their hopes, but they who at preſent practiſe this ſuperſtition tie ſo many, that the febrile matter is generally carried off, before the number of fits comes up to that of the knots.

A tour along the banks of the lake is extremely pleaſant; the proſpect of this vaſt ſheet of water is majeſtic, and the traces of culture, which upon the whole has been commenced on the beſt principles, offer a picture, on which both the eye and the mind dwell with equal pleaſure. The Governor is a worthy man, amiable and plain. The company was agreeable, and we enjoyed every convenience, which can be expected

on

on a journey of this kind. And yet, during the whole time of our reſidence in Naryhall, where he, as well as every one belonging to him, loaded us with civilities, in a manner the moſt agreeable, I did not experience one moment of true happineſs, and real untainted enjoyment.

I am at a loſs to account to myſelf for the various perceptions, which preſſed upon my mind, and prevented my ſeelings from being entirely abſorbed by gratitude, and by the pleaſing ſenſations, it naturally produces. I love the Engliſh more, perhaps, than any other Frenchman; I have been conſtantly well treated by the Engliſh; I have friends among them; I acknowledge the many great qualities and advantages which they poſſeſs. I deteſt the horrid crimes, which ſtain the French revolution, and which deſtroyed ſo many objects of my love and eſteem; I am baniſhed from France; my eſtates are confiſcated; by the government of my country I am treated as a criminal or corrupt citizen; ſevered from all I held dear, I have been reduced to extreme, inexpreſſible miſery, by Robeſpierre, and the reſt of the ruffians, whom my countrymen have ſuffered to become their tyrants; nor are my misfortunes yet conſummated—and yet, the love of my country, this innate feeling, now ſo painful to me, ſo claſhing with my preſent ſituation,

holds an abſolute ſway over my ſoul, and purſues me here more cloſely, than elſewhere. This Engliſh flag, under which I am ſailing over lakes where the French flag was ſo long diſplayed; theſe forts, theſe guns, the ſpoils of France, this conſtant, obvious proof of our former weakneſs and of our misfortunes, give me pain, perplex and overpower me to a degree, which I am at a loſs to explain. The ſucceſs, laſt year, obtained by Lord Howe, which the Engliſh mention with more frankneſs, becauſe they ſuppoſe our intereſt to be intimately connected with theirs; the eagerneſs they diſplay in announcing new defeats of the French, the accounts of which are prefaced by the aſſurance, that Engliſh triumphs and exertion ſhall reinſtate us in the poſſeſſion of our eſtates, and followed with congratulations; all theſe common topics of converſation, which our gueſts ſeem to introduce with the beſt intention, prove more painful to my feelings, as I am neceſſitated to hide my thoughts, leſt I ſhould be deemed a fool by the few, in whoſe eyes I am no Jacobin, no Robeſpierrian, and becauſe I am, as it were, at croſs purpoſes with myſelf. And yet it is a ſentiment rooted, deeply rooted in my ſoul, that I would continue poor and baniſhed, all the days of my life, rather *than owe my reſtoration to my country and my eſtates, to the influence of foreign*

foreign powers, and to Britiſh pride. I hear of no defeat of the French armies, without grief, or of any of their triumphs, without my ſelf-love being gratified to a degree, which at times I take not ſufficient care to conceal*. And yet, notwithſtanding theſe feelings, the confeſſion of which may appear ridiculous in my preſent ſituation, I cannot diſcern the period, when anarchy ſhall ceaſe in my ill-fated country, and liberty, regulated by wiſe and efficient laws, afford happineſs at leaſt to thoſe, who are not baniſhed; when France ſhall reſt her glory on a ſafe and laſting foundation.

I do not know, whether thoſe of my friends, who ſhall read theſe lines, will underſtand my meaning; and whether they will be more able, than I am, to reconcile theſe apparently incongruous feelings and perceptions. I have here thrown them together, as I felt and conceived them.

* Theſe "*Confeſſions d'un Emigré*," which ingenuouſly expreſs the true ſentiments of a very conſiderable part of the emigrated French nobility and gentry, are not, it ſeems, unworthy of the notice of foreign powers, and eſpecially of our government. A French emigrant, who acted in the Weſt Indies as field-officer in the Britiſh ſervice, regretted, that the "*pavillon chéri*" was not waving at the maſt-head of the veſſel, on board of which he was going to combat the French.—*Tranſl.*

In addition to the civilities offered here to our ſmall company, Dupetitthouars experienced one of a peculiar complexion, conſiſting in an offer of lands in Upper Canada, made by Major Seward, who, without expreſsly ſtating, that he was authoriſed by the Governor to propoſe this offer, at leaſt hinted ſomething to that effect. The polite, yet peremptory anſwer, returned by Dupetitthouars, at once ended the buſineſs.

The taſte for news is not by far ſo prevalent in Upper Canada as in the United States. Only one newſpaper is printed in Newark; and but for the ſupport granted by government, not the fourth part of the expence of the proprietor would be refunded by the ſale of his papers. It is a ſhort abſtract of the newſpapers of New York and Albany, accommodated to the principles of the Governor; with an epitome of the Quebec Gazette. In the front and back of the paper are advertiſements. It is a weekly paper; but very few copies are ſent to fort Erie and Détroit. The newſpaper preſs alſo ſerves for printing the acts of the Legiſlature, and the notices and orders iſſued by the Governor; and this is its principal uſe. In point of news, the ſituation at Niagara is by no means convenient, eſpecially in time of war.

The Engliſh ſhips are not yet arrived from Quebec,

Quebec, and this day is the ſixth of July. The intelligence, which reached Philadelphia about the time of our departure, has but juſt been received at Niagara. They tell us, that they know nothing, but what they have learned directly from England. What little information we have been able to collect from different quarters, concerning the ſentiments of the people, and which we could only now and then obtain, as we ſhould otherwiſe have given offence by too much inquiſitiveneſs on this head, coincides in repreſenting the nation at large as deſirous of tranquillity and peace. But the American loyaliſts, who have actually ſuffered by the war, ſtill harbour enmity and hatred againſt their native land and countrymen. Theſe ſentiments however are daily decreaſing, and are not ſhared by the far greater number of emigrants, who arrive from the United States, Nova Scotia, and New Brunſwick. There are mal-contents in this country; but their number is ſmall. Several new ſettlers, who migrate into this province from the United States, falſely profeſs an attachment to the Britiſh Monarch, and curſe the government of the Union, for the mere purpoſe of thus wheedling themſelves into the poſſeſſion of lands. The high price of proviſion, the prohibition of a commercial intercourſe, and the protracted delivery of the deeds,

by which the property of granted lands is conveyed to the occupiers, form, indeed, grounds of much diſcontent; but this is by no means of a nature to cauſe uneaſineſs to the government, which ſeems even to doubt its exiſtence, though, in caſe of a war with the United States, it might render its ſituation extremely critical.

The Epiſcopal is the eſtabliſhed religion in Upper Canada. In Détroit, however, half of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics; and ſome families of Quakers, Baptiſts, and Dunkers, are ſcattered through the province, though in ſmall numbers.

A ſeventh part of the lands is allotted to the ſupport of the Proteſtant clergy. For the Roman Catholic ſervice nothing is paid, except in Détroit. No church has yet been built, even in Newark. In the ſame halls, where the Legiſlative and Executive Councils hold their ſittings, jugglers would be permitted to diſplay their tricks, if any ſhould ever ſtray to this remote country. Our laſt excurſion in the environs of Naryhall brought us by Queenſtown to one of the Tuſcarora villages, which ſtands on the Indian territory, four miles from Naryhall. One of the roads, which lead thither, paſſes over mountains, that border upon the falls. This road affords ſome intereſting proſpects, ſuch as precipices, dreary receſſes,

receſſes, wild romantic ſcenes as far as the mountains project over the river, ſtill hemmed in between this double range of high rocks. They become truly admirable where the mountains ſlope towards the plain, which ſeparates them from the banks of the lake; this whole plain, Fort Niagara, the bank of the lake, the lake itſelf, nay, a part of the oppoſite bank, burſting at once on your view. The ſoil ſeems every where to be of a good quality.

This Tuſcarora village has as dirty and mean an appearance as all the other villages we have hitherto ſeen; but the inhabitants, being informed of the intended viſit of the Governor, had painted themſelves with the utmoſt care, and were dreſſed in their moſt faſhionable ſtyle. They fancied he came to hold an aſſembly. A booth, covered with green branches, before the door of the habitation of the chieftain, on which the Engliſh flag was waving, was the place ſingled out for the expected ſolemnity. The inhabitants were rather diſappointed, when they learned from the Governor, that he came with no other view but to pay them a viſit. He ſat down in the booth. The Indians were ſeated on benches placed in a ſemi-circular form, and ſmoaked tobacco. As many of the young men as could find room ſat at the end, or ſtood leaning on the rails. General Simcoe,

Simcoe and ourſelves were in the centre of the ſemi-circle; women and children were kept at a diſtance.

PATERSON, an American by birth, whom the Indians took priſoner at the age of ten years (he is now twenty-five) acted as interpreter to the Governor. All his ſpeeches, like every diſcourſe of the Engliſh agents addreſſed to the Indians, turned on the ſame ſubject. He told them alſo, at this time, that the Yankees were brooding over ſome evil deſign againſt them; that they had no other object in view but to rob them of their lands; and that their good Father (King George) was the true friend of their nation. He alſo repeated, that the maize-thief (T—— P——) was a rogue and a liar.

His ſpeech, however, met not with much applauſe on the part of the Tuſcaroras. The Seneca-Indians had called here a week before, on their way to Naryhall, and told them, that they were going to the Governor, without entering into any particulars reſpecting the object of their viſit. This circumſtance led the Tuſcaroras to conclude, that ſomething very important was in negociation between the Senecas and the Governor, probably tending to the prejudice of their nation; for miſtruſt, ſuſpicion, and apprehenſions, form the prominent features of the policy of the Indians;

Indians; and it must be confessed, that this way of thinking is a very natural consequence of the conduct of the colonists towards them.

The Governor disclaimed all particular negociations with the Senecas; and, in order to divert them from this opinion, made use of all the compliments and assurances, which he thought any way fitted to flatter their vanity, or allay their fears. He again told them of the Yankees, of the *maize-thief*, and of King George; but all this did not satisfy them. His promise of granting them lands in Canada, if the Yankees should drive them from their homes, made no deeper impression; nothing could brighten that cold, nay gloomy countenance, which they generally preserve while they are treating on business. The extreme care, which they employ to conceal their impressions on similar occasions, may either be the effect of a studied dissimulation, the necessity of which they may have learned in their intercourse with the colonists, or merely the result of character and habit. This anecdote, however trifling in itself, shews how easily the jealousy between the different Indian nations is roused; a disposition which, like all the other foibles of the Indians, both the English and the Americans turn to their advantage.

There are few Indian villages, where some persons,

ſons of European deſcent have not ſettled, who generally enjoy a conſiderable ſhare of influence over the tribe. They are commonly people of a very indifferent character, attracted by the idle, extravagant, and drunken habits of the Indians. It is a general remark, that the whites, who reſide among them, are extremely vicious, cruel, and covetous, and the very worſt huſbands and fathers.

Intermitting fevers are very frequent in this village. The Indians frequently take the advice of the phyſician, whom the Engliſh government appoints, and pays on their account; but they, far more frequently, take draughts, which they prepare themſelves from the juice of herbs. Although the neighbourhood is much infected with rattle-ſnakes, yet none of the preſent inhabitants of this village were ever bitten by them. Their remedy, in this caſe, would conſiſt of ſalt and water, which they think infallible, and fully ſufficient to effect a cure.

We met on this excurſion an American family, who, with ſome oxen, cows, and ſheep, were emigrating to Canada. "We come," ſaid they, "to the Governor," whom they did not know, "to ſee whether he will give us land." "Aye, aye," the Governor replied, "you are tired of the federal government; you like not any longer to have ſo many kings; you wiſh again for your old

old father," (it is thus the Governor calls the Britiſh Monarch when he ſpeaks with Americans); "you are perfectly right; come along, we love ſuch good royaliſts as you are, we will give you land."

On our return from Queenſtown we deſcended in the Governor's boat the noble river Niagara, the banks of which imagination delights to fancy covered with inhabitants, and reclaimed by culture from their preſent wild ſtate, and views rich and charming landſcapes; but this richneſs, and theſe charms, will probably yet, for a conſiderable time, enchant the eye of fancy alone.

During our reſidence in Naryhall, Meſſrs. Dupetitthouars and Guillemard took the opportunity of the return of a gun-boat, and made an excurſion to York. Indolence, politeneſs to the Governor, and the conviction that I ſhould meet with nothing remarkable in that place, united to diſſuade me from this journey. My friends informed me on their return, that this town, which the Governor had fixed upon as the capital of Upper Canada, before he thought of building a capital on the Thames, has a fine extenſive road, detached from the lake by a neck of land of unequal breadth, being in ſome places a mile, in others only ſix ſcore yards broad; that the entrance of this road is about a mile in width; that in the middle

middle of it is a ſhoal or ſand-bank, the narrows on each ſide of which may be eaſily defended by works erected on the two points of land at the entrance, where two block-houſes have already been conſtructed; that this is two miles and half long, and a mile wide; and that the elevation of the ſhore greatly facilitates its defence by fortifications to be thrown up on the moſt convenient points.

Governor Simcoe intends to make York the centre of the naval force on Lake Ontario. Only four gun-boats are, at preſent, on this lake; two of which are conſtantly employed in tranſporting merchandize; the other two, which alone are fit to carry troops and guns, and have oars and ſails, are lying under ſhelter until an occaſion occurs to convert them to their intended purpoſe. It is the Governor's intention to build ten ſimilar gun-boats on Lake Ontario, and ten on Lake Erie. The ſhip-carpenters, who conſtruct them, reſide in the United States, and return home every winter.

There have not been more than twelve houſes hitherto built in York. They ſtand on the bay near the River Dun. The inhabitants do not poſſeſs the faireſt character. One of them is the noted BATY, the leader of the German families, who, according to the aſſertion of Captain Williamſon,

liamſon, were decoyed away by the Engliſh, to injure and obſtruct the proſperity of his ſettlement.

Notwithſtanding the navigation of this river, there is a portage of thirty miles between York and Lake Simcoe, by which the merchandize, that comes from Lake Huron, might reach that place in a ſtraighter line. The barracks, which are occupied by the Governor's regiment, ſtand on the road, two miles from the town, and near the lake; deſertion, I am told, is very frequent among the ſoldiers.

In a circumference of one hundred and fifty miles the Indians are the only neighbours of York. They belong to the tribe of the Miſſaſſogas. I ſhall here obſerve, that all, who have viſited the Indians in Upper Canada, aſſure us, that Father CHARLEVOIX has delineated their manners with the ſame exactneſs and truth, which has he in general diſplayed in the deſcription of the countries he traverſed.

After a reſidence of eighteen days at Naryhall, we took leave of the Governor on Friday the 10th of July. He wiſhed us to ſtay a little longer; but Lord DORCHESTER'S anſwer had probably reached Kingſton by this time; and, notwithſtanding the Governor's true politeneſs and gene-

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rous hoſpitality, we were not entirely free from apprehenſions of incommoding him.

I hope that he has been as ſatisfied with the ſincerity and frankneſs of Mr. Dupetitthouars and myſelf, as we were with his kindneſs. As to Mr. Guillemard, I make no mention of him, ſince, he being an Engliſhman, his ſituation is altogether different from ours. We enjoyed in the General's houſe the moſt perfect freedom of opinion, which a man of his diſtinguiſhed talents will always cheriſh, and but for which we ſhould not have been able to continue ſo long at Nary-hall as we did.

Every thing we have ſeen and heard in this part of Upper Canada renders it, in our judgment, extremely probable, that her dependance on England will not be of long duration. The ſpirit of independance, which prevails in the United States, has already gained ground in this province, and will, no doubt, be much encreaſed by a more immediate connection with the United States. The compariſon drawn by the inhabitants of Upper Canada, between the price of commodities ſubject to Engliſh duties and cuſtoms, and the value of the ſame articles on the oppoſite ſhore, will be a ſufficient ſource of envy and diſcontent. The navigation being carried

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on by both countries on the ſame lakes and canals, it will be impoſſible to prevent the contraband-trade; and this cannot but prove highly prejudicial to Great Britain, at leaſt according to the ſyſtem, by which ſhe is guided in the government of her colonies. This contraband-trade will be a conſtant object of diſpute between the two ſtates, and will furniſh the Governor of Upper Canada with ſufficient pretences for commencing and promoting a war. But, a conteſt, the natural conſequence of which would be an increaſe of the price of proviſion in Canada far above what it would bear in the United States, could not be a popular war. It would be a repetition of the American War of the Stamp-act, and of the Tea-tax, and would probably be attended with the ſame conſequences.

The natural order of things at this moment, and the univerſal diſpoſition of nations, announce the ſeparation of Canada from Great Britain as an event, which cannot fail to take place. I know nothing, that can prevent it. By great proſperity and glory, by ſignal ſucceſſes in her wars, and by undiſturbed tranquillity at home, Great Britain may be able to maintain her power over this country, as long as conſiderable ſums ſhall be expended to promote its population and proſperity; as long as it ſhall enjoy the moſt complete

exemption from all the taxes and burthens of the mother country; in fine, as long as a mild government, by reſources prompt and well applied, by uſeful public eſtabliſhments, not yet exiſting, and by encouragements held out to all claſſes and deſcriptions of citizens, ſhall convince a people already invited and qualified by a wiſe conſtitution to enjoy all the bleſſings of liberty, of the advantages of a monarchical government, which in its benevolent projects unites wiſdom of conception with rapidity of execution.

But theſe conditions are and will hardly be fulfilled. In our time, perhaps ſoon, Great Britain will loſe this bright jewel of her crown.* In regard to Canada, ſhe will experience the ſame fate, as ſhe is likely to ſhare, ſooner or later, reſpecting her poſſeſſions in India; as will befall Spain in reſpect to her Florida and Mexico, Portugal

* Readers, endowed with a larger ſhare of political ſagacity, than the author diſplays throughout the whole train of arguments, on which he grounds this diſmal preſage, will probably incline to believe the predicted revolution in Canada not quite ſo near at hand, as it appears to the Duke, who ſeems not to recollect, that the Britiſh government, by ſubſtituting, as he himſelf calls it, "a wiſe conſtitution" in the ſtead of the ancient conſtitutional form of Canada, has adopted the very means, to prevent her loſs, which at the cloſe of his obſervations on this ſubject, he adviſes as the only preventive of ſuch a calamity.—*Tranſlator.*

tugal in regard to her Braſil, in ſhort all European powers, reſpecting ſuch of their colonies at leaſt, as they poſſeſs on the continents, unleſs, enlightened by experience, they ſhall ſpeedily change the colonial form of government.

Before I cloſe the article of Niagara, I muſt make particular mention of the civility ſhewn us by Major LITTLEHALES, adjutant and firſt ſecretary to the Governor; a well-bred, mild, and amiable man, who has the charge of the whole correſpondence of government, and acquits himſelf with peculiar ability and application. Major Littlehales appeared to poſſeſs the confidence of the country. This is not unfrequently the caſe with men in place and power; but his worth, politeneſs, prudence, and judgment, give this officer peculiar claims to the confidence and reſpect, which he univerſally enjoys.

We embarked for Kingſton on board the Onondago, one of the cutters, which compoſe the naval force on the lake. This cutter is pierced for twelve ſix-pounders, but carries only ſix in time of peace. When theſe veſſels are not laden with ſtores for the King's ſervice, they are freighted with merchandize, for which the merchants either pay freight, or engage to tranſport in their bottoms an equal quantity of the King's ſtores.

The Onondago is of eighty tons burthen. On this occaſion, ſhe had two detachments on board; one of the fifth regiment, deſtined for Kingſton to bring money, and another of the Queen's rangers, to receive at Montreal new cloathing for the regiment. There were, beſides, forty-one Canadians on board, who had conducted ten veſſels for the King's ſervice from Montreal to Niagara. The cabin-paſſengers were, Mr. Richard, Mr. Seward, whom I have already mentioned, Mr. BELLEW, who commanded the detachment of the fifth regiment, which was going to fetch money, Mr. HILL, another officer of the ſame regiment, who was ill, and was going to Kingſton for the recovery of his health, Mr. LEMOINE, an officer of the ſixtieth regiment, quartered in Kingſton, and our party.

The wind was tolerably fair during our paſſage; this is generally accompliſhed in thirty-ſix hours; at times in ſixteen; but it took us forty-eight hours. Dead calms are frequent, eſpecially at this time of the year, and laſt ſometimes five days. Scarcely any motion was obſervable on the waters of the lake. This paſſage, which is one hundred and fifty miles long, offers no intereſting objects; the coaſt ſoon diſappears from your view, eſpecially in hot weather, when the horizon is clouded

clouded with vapours, as when we ſailed. Ducks' Iſlands form, to ſpeak generally, the only trifling danger on this paſſage. They are three in number, lying in a line; there is no paſſage for ſhips either between the coaſt and the iſland on the left, or between this and the middle iſland, on account of the rocks under the water, on which ſhips would unavoidably be loſt. You muſt paſs between the middle iſland and that on the right, where the water is from four to five miles in width, and ſufficiently deep to afford a ſafe navigation. The only danger, to be here encountered, might ariſe from a ſudden guſt of wind, ſpringing up the moment, you approach the iſlands, and driving the ſhip into one of the dangerous channels. To the beſt of my knowledge, but one ſhipwreck has happened here, within the memory of man; but no veſſel ventures near the iſlands by night, except when the weather is perfectly fair and clear. A more common and more real danger ariſes from the ſtorms, which frequently on a ſudden ariſe on the lake, render it even more boiſterous than the ſea, and cauſe the ſhips to labour and ſtrain more ſeverely, on account of the ſhortneſs of the waves, bounded by the ſmall extent of the waters. The ſhips are then in conſtant danger of being driven on ſhore, and would hardly be able to avoid it, if the

ſtorms laſted longer. But they generally continue only for a ſhort time, eſpecially in ſummer, and the clearing up of the weather is as ſudden as was the coming on of the ſtorms. They are, properly ſpeaking, only violent gales of wind, which in autumn frequently blow two days together, and ſucceed each other very rapidly. Five or ſix years ago, a ſhip was loſt, with every hand on board, and inſtances of this kind are ſaid not to be uncommon at that time of the year. From November until April, the navigation is entirely diſcontinued on the lake.

During our paſſage, Lieutenant EARL, who commanded the cutter, and almoſt all our fellow-paſſengers, behaved to us, in the moſt civil and obliging manner. The weather was very warm, and had been ſo for the laſt eight or ten days. The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer ſtood, at Naryhall, frequently at ninety-two; but on board the veſſel, in the cabin, it was only at ſixty-four. It is leſs the intenſity of the heat, than its peculiar nature, which renders it altogether intolerable; it is ſultry and cloſe, and more ſo by night, than by day, when it is ſometimes freſhened by a breeze, which is not the caſe in the night; the opening of the windows affords no relief; you do not perſpire, but feel oppreſſed; you reſpire with difficulty; your ſleep

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is interrupted and heavy; and you riſe more fatigued, than when you lay down to reſt.

I have already mentioned, that we had a detachment of the fifth regiment on board. They dreſſed, before we arrived at Kingſton. Eight days before we had ſeen the Indians painting their eyes with lamp-black and red-lead, and braiding their hair, to fix in it feathers or horſes' manes, dyed red or blue. This day we ſaw European ſoldiers plaſtering their hair, or if they had none, their heads, with a thick white mortar, which they laid on with a bruſh, and afterwards raked, like a garden-bed, with an iron comb; and then faſtening on their head a piece of wood, as large as the palm of the hand, and ſhaped like the bottom of an artichoke, to make a *cadogan*, which they filled with the ſame white mortar, and *raked* in the ſame manner, as the reſt of their head-dreſs.

This is a brief ſketch of the ſpectacle, which theſe ſoldiers exhibited to us, the laſt two hours of our paſſage; though their toilette was not exactly the ſame as that of the Indians, yet they conſulted their looking-glaſs with the ſame anxious care. Theſe obſervations are leſs intended to throw a ridicule on the dreſs of ſoldiers, and the childiſh attention paid to it in all countries, than to check the forwardneſs of thoſe, who are ever

ready to ridicule all manners and habits, which are not their own. The Indian ſavage would be at a loſs, whether to laugh more at the Turk, who covers his ſhorn head with a turban, containing more or fewer folds in proportion to his rank and conſequence—at the women in the iſland of Melos, whoſe petticoats ſcarcely cover half their thighs, while their ſleeves reach down to the ground—or at our *belles*, who ten years ago confined their breaſts and waiſt in huge ſtays, with falſe hips, and ſtrutted along on high heels, and who now ſcrew up their waiſt to the middle of their boſoms, tied round with a girdle, which looks more like a rope, than a ſaſh, wear their arms naked up to their ſhoulders, and by means of tranſparent garments expoſe every thing to view, which formerly they thought themſelves obliged to conceal, and all this, forſooth, to reſemble Grecian ladies.

Sunday, the 12th of July.

When Ducks' Iſlands were about twenty miles a-ſtern of us, the lake grew more narrow, and the number of iſlands encreaſed. They ſeemed all to be well wooded, but are not inhabited, and lie nearly all of them along the right bank. On the left is Quenty Bay, which ſtretches about fifty

fifty miles into the country, and the banks of which are ſaid to be cultivated up to a conſiderable extent. The eye dwells with pleaſure, once more, on cultivated ground. The country looks pleaſant. The houſes lie cloſer, than in any of the new ſettled parts of Upper Canada, which we have hitherto traverſed. The variegated verdure of the corn-fields embelliſhes and enriches the proſpect, charms the eye, and enchants the mind. In the back-ground ſtands the city of Kingſton, on the bay of the ſame name, which the French, in imitation of the Indians, called Cadarakwe. It conſiſts of about one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty houſes. The ground in the immediate vicinity of the city riſes with a gentle ſwell, and forms, from the lake onwards, as it were, an amphitheatre of lands, cleared, but not yet cultivated. None of the buildings are diſtinguiſhed by a more handſome appearance from the reſt. The only ſtructure, more conſpicuous than the others, and in front of which the Engliſh flag is hoiſted, is *the barracks*, a ſtone building, ſurrounded with palliſadoes.

All the houſes ſtand on the northern bank of the bay, which ſtretches a mile farther into the country. On the ſouthern bank are the buildings belonging to the naval force, the wharfs, and

and the habitations of all the perſons, who belong to that department. The King's ſhips lie at anchor near theſe buildings, and conſequently have a harbour and road ſeparate from the port for merchantmen. We landed at Port Royal. However *kingly* were the commander and his ſhip, he took our money. Governor Simcoe expreſsly deſired us not to pay for our paſſage, as the cutter was a King's ſhip, and he had amply ſupplied us with proviſion. But my friend Dupetitthouars, as well as myſelf, were ſo much diſpleaſed with the idea, of making this paſſage at the expence of the King of England, that we ventured to offer our money to Captain Earl. Offers of this kind are ſeldom refuſed, nor did ours meet with a denial. Yet, it is but juſtice to add, that Captain Earl is a worthy man, civil, attentive, conſtantly on the deck, apparently fond of his profeſſion, and maſter of his buſineſs.

No letter from Lord Dorcheſter had yet arrived, and it was extremely uncertain when it would arrive. The calculation, made at Kingſton, reſpecting the probable time of the return of an anſwer, is leſs favourable than what they made at Niagara. We ſhall, perhaps, be obliged to wait a week longer. How much time will be loſt for our journey, and why? Becauſe Governor Simcoe is not on good terms with Lord Dorcheſter;

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and becauſe he obſerves the niceſt punctuality, from which, in conſideration of the letters we brought with us, he might well have departed in this caſe. Our friend, Mr. Hammond, might have ſaved us this unpleaſant delay, by writing ſooner to Lord Dorcheſter, as I requeſted him to do. Unfortunately ſuch accidents cannot be foreſeen. If they could, how many things ſhould we alter in the courſe of our life? We muſt wait. Patience, patience, and again patience.

Kingſton is the place, to which Lord Dorcheſter wiſhes, that General Simcoe ſhould transfer the ſeat of government in Upper Canada. In this choice he is, perhaps, in a great meaſure influenced by the advantage, which he would thus enjoy, of having all the troops, in caſe of an attack, in the vicinity of Quebec, which is, in his opinion, the only tenable place in Lower Canada. He thinks, that if the ſeat of the government of Upper Canada were removed to Kingſton, which lies nearer to Quebec than any other place, the orders and news, which arrive from Europe, would reach this place with more rapidity and ſafety, and would alſo be more rapidly circulated through the province. He further imagines, that the naval ſtores, ſent from Europe, would here be ſafer, and that the refitting of ſhips would be cheaper, and with more ſecurity erected in Kingſton, whither,

ther, at all times, they might be ſent directly from Quebec, at leaſt more expeditiouſly, than to any other place on the lake, where the inconvenience of a tedious and uncertain paſſage muſt be added to the expence for ſhifting the cargo on board of another veſſel.

Governor Simcoe, on the contrary, is of opinion, that by the aggregate of his arrangements, the defence of Upper Canada might be eaſily effected. He adds, that the wealth of the country, which he conſiders as the neceſſary reſult of his projects, will attract the enemy; and that if they ſhould make themſelves maſters of Upper Canada, it would be impoſſible to diſlodge them. He alſo obſerves, that, in time of war, by the various means of navigation, conſiderable parties might be eaſily ſent from Upper Canada to every point of the United States, even to Georgia; that Upper Canada is the key of the territories of the Indians; and that thence ſuccours may be eaſily ſent to every part of Lower Canada, which, on the other hand, is not able to ſend any to Upper Canada, at leaſt not ſo expeditiouſly as circumſtances might require.

As to the more rapid circulation of orders and intelligence, and the earlier receipt of them, the Governor allows the truth of theſe allegations; but anſwers, that, from the vaſt extent of Canada,

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it is extremely improbable, that in case of its being peopled, this territory should be divided only into two governments. He adds, that the best method of peopling such parts of Canada, as have hitherto been explored, would be, to encourage the population of the two extremities, in which case, the prosperity of the centre would be more easily and rapidly attained. He further observes, that, in such a case, Kingston would become the capital of a new province; and that, in regard to the more difficult and more expensive distribution of ships, no facility and savings, to be obtained under this head, could balance the advantage of uniting in its centre the whole naval force stationed on the lake, and especially in a place, where it is most essentially protected against an attack.

All men seek after reasons or pretensions to enlarge the extent of their authority and power. Here, as every where else, good and bad reasons are alleged in support of a system, of a project, and especially of the interests of self-love. Yet power is also here, as every where else, the best, at least the most decisive of reasons; and if Lord Dorchester should not be able to prevail upon the British government to declare Kingston the capital of Upper Canada, he will, at least, prevent the seat of government from being established between the lakes Erie, Huron, and Ontario, according

cording to the wiſh of General Simcoe. As to the project of transferring it to York, he declares himſelf in a manner by no means favourable to that city; and in this opinion he is joined by all the inhabitants of Kingſton, whoſe diſpleaſure at their city not becoming the capital of the province is greatly increaſed by the conſideration, that, in conſequence of this project, their town will ceaſe to be the emporium of the ſmall naval force ſtationed on this lake. The friends of Kingſton further allege againſt the project, and not without reaſon, that York is an unhealthy place, and will long remain ſo, from the nature of the ground, which ſeparates the bay from the lake.

Dupetitthouars, who is a zealous partizan of York, as far as he conſiders it in the light of an eſtabliſhment for the navy, cannot help allowing, that it has the air of being an unhealthy place. General Simcoe apparently poſſeſſes the love and confidence of all the inhabitants and ſoldiers. But his projects are deemed too extenſive; and, above all, too coſtly, in proportion to the advantages, which England is likely to reap from their being carried into effect.

The merchants on the lake, whoſe rapacity the Governor is endeavouring to reſtrain, lay great ſtreſs on theſe two objections, and beſtow much praiſe on Lord Dorcheſter's profound wiſdom and conſummate

consummate abilities; while, by other accounts, he was formerly an useful man, but is now superannuated.

Lord Dorchester being an utter stranger to me, I am altogether unqualified to judge of his abilities and talents. I am also unacquainted with the amount of the expence, which the execution of Governor Simcoe's plans may require, and with the resources which England may possess to meet them. But I am clearly of opinion, that Great Britain cannot fail to reap signal advantages from his views and projects, if they should ever be carried into effect; and that they compose a complete system, which, if properly pursued in all its parts, will do great credit to him, who shall execute it.

But, at the same time, all the information we here obtain on this subject confirms our opinion, that General Simcoe meets with much opposition in his plans; that the jealousy, which Lord Dorchester shows in regard to him, and which is the natural result of his age and temper of mind, is carefully kept alive, by those who hold places under him; and that, with the exception of grants of land, and other matters of government, in respect to which the Governor is perfectly independent, he can do and enact nothing without the consent of the Governor General. As to his rooted

rooted averſion againſt the Americans, I have heard it cenſured even by private ſoldiers; but he is allowed by all to poſſeſs military talents.

In relating theſe particulars, which finiſh the picture of *the man*, I have no other object, but faithfully to draw the character of Governor Simcoe, who, being undoubtedly a man of ſuperior abilities and endowments, deſerves to be known.*

Kingſton, conſidered as a town, is much inferior to Newark; the number of houſes is nearly equal in both. Kingſton may contain a few more buildings, but they are neither ſo large nor ſo good as at Newark. Many of them are log-houſes, and thoſe which conſiſt of joiner's work, are badly conſtructed and painted. But few new houſes are built. No town-hall, no court-houſe, and no priſon have hitherto been conſtructed. The houſes of two or three merchants are conveniently ſituated for loading and unloading ſhips; but, in point of ſtructure, theſe are not better than the reſt. Their trade chiefly conſiſts in pel-

* Governor Simcoe has ſince left Upper Canada, and returned to England, whence he has been ſent to St. Domingo. In that colony he has found no opportunity for diſplaying his military talents, but has endeavoured to curb the rapacity of the ſmall army in the pay of Great Britain, and by this meritorious conduct excited the hatred both of the French and Engliſh, who have gratified it in a dreadful manner.—*Author.*

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try, which comes acroſs the lake, and in proviſion from Europe, with which they ſupply Upper Canada. They act as agents or commiſſioners of the Montreal Company, who have need of magazines in all places, where their goods muſt be unſhipped.

The trade of Kingſton, therefore, is not very conſiderable. The merchant ſhips are only three in number, and make but eleven voyages in a year. Kingſton is a ſtaple port. It is ſituated twelve miles above that point of the river, which is conſidered as the extremity of the lake. Here arrive all the veſſels, which ſail up the river of St. Lawrence, laden with proviſion brought in European ſhips to Quebec.

The barracks are conſtructed on the ſite of Fort Frontenac, which was built by the French, and levelled by the Engliſh. The latter built theſe barracks about ſix years ago. During the American war their troops were conſtantly in motion; and, in later times, they were quartered in an iſland, which the French call Iſle aux Chevreaux, (Goats' Iſland) and which the Engliſh have named Carleton, after Lord Dorcheſter. Fort Frontenac, which was liable to be attacked on all ſides, would anſwer no other purpoſe but to protect the ſmall garriſon, which the French kept there, againſt the attacks of the Indians and

Engliſh; a part of the garriſon was quartered in Cadarakwe, for the protection of the French trade. Here were alſo built, by Mr. De La-salle, the firſt French ſhips, which navigated the lake.

Kingſton ſeems better fitted for a trading town than Newark, were it only for this reaſon, that the ſhips, which arrive at the latter place, and are freighted for Lake Erie, paſs by the former, to ſail again up the river as far as Queen's Town, where the portage begins. Nor is its poſition equally advantageous for ſharing the trade in proviſion, with which the lake may one day ſupply Lower Canada, England, perhaps all Europe, if Upper Canada ſhould ever anſwer the expectations entertained by Governor Simcoe.

Kingſton is, at preſent, the chief town of the middle diſtrict of Upper Canada, the moſt populous part of which is that ſituated on Queen's Bay. This diſtrict not only produces the corn requiſite for its own conſumption, but alſo exports yearly about three or four thouſand buſhels. This grain, which, in winter, is conveyed down the river on ſledges, is bought by the merchants, who engage, on the arrival of the ſhips from Europe, to pay its amount in ſuch merchandize, as the ſellers may require. The merchants buy this grain for government, which pays for it, in ready

ready money, according to the market price at Montreal. The agent of government cauſes a part to be ground into flour, which he ſends to the different poſts in Upper Canada, where it is wanted; and the ſurplus he ſends to England, probably with a view of raiſing the importance of the colony in the eſtimation of the mother-country. The price of flour in Kingſton, is, at preſent, ſix dollars per barrel.

The diſtrict of Kingſton ſupplied, laſt year, the other parts of Canada with large quantities of peaſe; the culture of which, introduced but two years ago, proves very productive and ſucceſsful. In the courſe of laſt year, one thouſand barrels of ſalt pork, of two hundred and eight pounds each, were ſent from Kingſton to Quebec; its price was eighteen dollars per barrel. The whole trade is carried on by merchants, whoſe profits are the more conſiderable, as they fix the price of the proviſion, which they receive from Europe, and either ſell in the vicinity, or ſhip for the remoter parts of Upper Canada, without the leaſt competition, and juſt as they think proper.

Although the number of cultivators is here greater than in the diſtrict of Niagara, yet the vaſt quantity of land under cultivation is not better managed than theirs. The difficulty of procuring labourers obſtructs agricultural im-

provements, and encourages them to inſiſt on enormous wages.

The proceſs of clearing woodlands is here the ſame, as all over America. The huſbandmen harrow the cleared ground two, three, or four years ſucceſſively; during which time wheat is ſown. Then they plough, but in a very imperfect manner, and ſow peaſe or oats, and again wheat, and ſo on, according to the common routine. The land yields, in this ſtate, from twenty to thirty buſhels per acre.

Corn, for the winter, is ſown from the beginning of Auguſt till the end of September. Snow falls generally in the latter days of November, and remains on the ground until the beginning of April. Under this cover the blade gets up remarkably well; the corn ripens in July, and the harveſt begins about the end of that month. For want of reapers, the ſcythe is made uſe of, which cauſes a great waſte of corn, that cannot be houſed, and merely ſerves for feeding pigs. Labourers, whoſe common wages are from three to four ſhillings (Halifax currency), are paid during the harveſt at the rate of one dollar, or ſix ſhillings a day. Some farmers hire Canadians for two or three months, to whom they pay ſeven or eight dollars per month, and find them in victuals. It frequently happens, that theſe

Canadians,

Canadians, who bind themſelves by a written contract, meet with people offering them more money than they receive from their maſters, which not being allowed to accept, they, of courſe, grow diſſatisfied, and work negligently. They muſt be procured from the environs of Montreal. Farmers, who have no acquaintance in that country, find it difficult to obtain them; and this difficulty deters many cultivators from recurring to that reſource, from which they might elſe derive conſiderable advantages. The harveſt work is therefore generally performed by the family: thus the houſing of the crops, though it proceed ſlowly, is yet accompliſhed; but the farmer has much additional trouble, and the loſs he ſuſtains, by his harveſt being leſs perfect, far exceeds the few dollars, which he would have been obliged to ſpend in gathering in his crops in a more expeditious manner. The ſoil, which is but of a middling quality in the vicinity of the town, is excellent about the bay; many farmers poſſeſs there to the number of one hundred and fifty acres of land, thoroughly cleared.

The climate of America, eſpecially that of Canada, encourages the imprudence and covetouſneſs of the farmers. There is no danger here, as in Europe, of the hay rotting, and the grain being ſpoiled by rains, if not ſpeedily houſed.

There ſeldom paſſes a day without ſun-ſhine; the ſky is ſeldom entirely overcaſt; it never rains but during thunder-ſtorms, and this rain never continues longer than two hours. Grain is, beſides, ſeldom liable here to blights, or any other kind of diſeaſe.

The cattle are not ſubject to contagious diſtempers; they are numerous, without being remarkably fine. The fineſt oxen are procured from Connecticut, at the price of ſeventy or eighty dollars a yoke. Cows are brought either from the ſtate of New York, and theſe are the fineſt; or from Canada: the former coſt twenty, and the latter fifteen dollars. Theſe are ſmall in ſize, but, in the opinion of the farmers, better milch-cows, and are for this reaſon preferred. There are no fine bulls in the country; and the generality of farmers are not ſenſible of the advantages to be derived from cattle of a fine breed. In ſummer the cattle are turned into the woods; in winter, that is, ſix months together, they are fed on dry fodder, namely, with the ſtraw of wheat, rye, or peaſe, and on moſt farms with hay cut on ſwampy ground, but by rich and prudent farmers with good hay. The hay is frequently kept the whole winter within a ſort of fence, covered with large branches, through which, however, the ſnow finds its way; but commonly

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it is preſerved in ricks badly made, and under Dutch hay-ſheds. The meadows yield to the quantity of four thouſand pounds per acre, but no aftercrop. There is no ready market at which a farmer can ſell that part of his cheeſe and butter, which is not wanted for the uſe of his family. Of cheeſe and butter, therefore, no more is made, than the family need for their own conſumption. They generally begin in the firſt days of May to make a proviſion for the winter. Some few farmers manufacture coarſe woollens for their own clothing; the more uſual way, however, is to buy the clothes. The farmer is too buſy, has too little aſſiſtance, and makes his calculations with too little judgment, to engage in ſuch a multiplicity of labours.

Sheep are more numerous here than in any part of the United States, which we have hitherto traverſed. They are either procured from Lower Canada, or the ſtate of New York, and coſt three dollars a head. They thrive in this country, but are high legged, and of a very indifferent ſhape. Coarſe wool, when cleaned, coſts two ſhillings a pound. There are few or no wolves, rattle-ſnakes, or other noxious animals, in this country.

The farmers make but little maple-ſugar, though the woods abound with the trees, from

which it is procured. The Indians import about two or three thouſand pounds, and ſell it to the retail traders for one ſhilling a pound. Maple-ſugar is prepared in much larger quantities in Lower Canada. The Canadians eat it here on bread, or make cakes of it, mixed up with flour of wheat, or Indian corn. On the maple-tree frequently grows a ſort of knobs, or funguſſes, of a very large ſize. If theſe excreſcences be torn from the tree, and dried in the ſun, they form an excellent tinder, which the Indians and Canadians uſe to light their pipes. Notwithſtanding the great number of pines, no reſin has yet been gathered. The culture of hemp and flax has been tried, but hitherto without ſucceſs; the experiments, however, are continued.

The price of wheat is one dollar per buſhel; laſt year the price was much lower; but it has riſen from the general failure of the harveſt. Fire-wood, delivered in the town, coſts one dollar a cord; in winter it is conveyed thither in ſledges from all the iſlands and banks of the river, which are covered with wood.

The river freezes over at the diſtance of twenty miles above Kingſton.

The price of land is from two ſhillings and ſix-pence to one dollar per acre, if the twentieth part be cleared. This price riſes in proportion

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to the number of acres cleared of wood, though influenced by occaſional circumſtances. Two hundred acres, one hundred and fifty of which were cleared, were very lately ſold for one thouſand ſix hundred dollars. The expence for cutting down all the large trees on an acre, and incloſing it with a fence as rude as in the United States, amounts to eight dollars.

There is no regular market in Kingſton; every one provides himſelf with freſh meat as well as he can, but frequently it cannot be had on any terms.

For this information I am chiefly indebted to Mr. STEWARD, curate in Kingſton, who cultivates himſelf ſeventy acres, a part of two thouſand acres, which have been granted him as an American loyaliſt. He is a native of Harriſburg in Pennſylvania, and ſeems to have zealouſly embraced the royal cauſe in the American war. Fifteen hundred pounds ſterling, which he had placed in the American funds, have been confiſcated. Although he continues warmly attached to the Britiſh Monarch, yet he has become more moderate in his political principles; he has preſerved ſome friends who eſpouſed the cauſe of the Republic, among whom is Biſhop WHITE, of Philadelphia. Mr. Steward is a man of much general information, mild, open, affable, and univerſally

verſally reſpected; he is very ſanguine in his expectation that the price of land will riſe, and that he ſhall then be enabled to portion out his numerous children. Without being a very ſkilful farmer, he is perfectly acquainted with the details of agriculture, ſo that I can place implicit confidence on his ſtatements, the truth of which has alſo been confirmed by other huſbandmen.

The number of farmers is very ſmall about Kingſton. By Mr. Steward's report, the agreement between the land-owner and farmer is generally made for their joint account, but not always faithfully performed. From his having been impoſed upon in ſuch agreements, he leaſed out laſt year four hundred and thirty acres, which are ſituated on the bay, and forty of which are cleared, for a yearly rent of one hundred and fifty buſhels of grain; on condition that, if at the expiration of three years his tenant be deſirous of acquiring the property of theſe lands, he muſt pay him one thouſand dollars; in default whereof, he is bound to quit the land, and will conſequently loſe all the money and labour ſpent in clearing the ground.

The clergy of the Epiſcopal church are the only miniſters in Upper Canada, who are paid by government. The members of other religious ſects pay their paſtors, if they chooſe to have any.

any. In the district of Kingston are Baptists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, and Quakers; but they possess no building devoted to religious worship. Some of the inhabitants of Kingston are American loyalists; but the majority is composed of Scots, English, Irish, Germans, and Dutchmen.

The emigration from the United States is not considerable; during the last three or four years it has been very insignificant indeed, but gains now, it is asserted, a more promising appearance. This intelligence, which we first received from people attached to the English government, has since been confirmed to us by a great many labourers. These new colonists emigrate most of them from the States of Connecticut, Vermont, and New Hampshire. The emigration from Canada to the United States is far less considerable.

If any dependence might be placed on the report of persons, who arrived four years ago from the River Mohawk, such families, as are suspected of an attachment to Great Britain, are, in the United States, looked upon rather with an evil eye; but perhaps they give out such reports, merely that they may meet with a better reception in the British possessions.

The inhabitants of the district of Kingston meddle still less with politics than the people of

Newark.

Newark. No newſpaper is printed in the town; that of Newark is the only one publiſhed in Upper Canada, which being a mere imperfect extract from the Quebec Gazette, is here taken in by no one. I know but of two perſons who receive even the Quebec-paper. As to the interior of the country, no news penetrates into that quarter, a circumſtance that excites there very little regret.

In this diſtrict are ſome ſchools, but they are few in number. The children are inſtructed in reading and writing, and pay each a dollar a month. One of the maſters, ſuperior to the reſt in point of knowledge, taught Latin; but he has left the ſchool, without being ſucceeded by another inſtructor of the ſame learning.

There are yet but very few ſurgeons in this diſtrict; they, who aſſume this appellation, contrive to get well paid for their trouble. Excepting intermittent fevers, which are rather frequent in Kingſton, the climate is very healthy. The houſes, as has already been obſerved, are built of wood, for reaſons which it is extremely difficult to diſcern. The town is ſeated on rocky ground; and not the ſmalleſt houſe can be built without the foundation being excavated in a rock, a ſort of ſtone which affords the twofold advantage of being eaſily cut, and of growing hard, when

when expoſed to the air, without cracking in the froſt. The inhabitants allow that, if bricklayers were procured even from Montreal (for there are none in this place), building with ſtone would be leſs expenſive than with wood. They grant that, in addition to the greater ſolidity of ſuch buildings, they would afford more warmth in winter, and more coolneſs in ſummer; but habit is here, as elſewhere, more powerful than reaſon. Carpenters' wages amount to ſixteen ſhillings a day; labourers are equally ſcarce in Newark, and conſequently as bad and as dear.

This diſtrict contains no paupers, and, of courſe, there exiſt no poor rates; the taxes are managed in the ſame manner as at Newark.

The roads at Kingſton are much the ſame as at Newark; they are kept in good repair by ten days' labour, from which none of the inhabitants are excepted, all being obliged to work ten days at the roads. Labouring people complain, and not without reaſon, that this public burthen has not been aſſeſſed in a manner more proportionate to the means of the inhabitants; and calculate, with ſome degree of diſcontent, that their ten days' labour is tantamount to a tax of twelve dollars and upwards; for they muſt alſo find their own victuals when they work on the roads.

There is but one church in Kingſton, and this, though

though very lately built, reſembles a barn more than a church.

We had a letter from General Simcoe to the Commanding Officer in Kingſton, who, at our arrival, was Captain PARR, of the ſixtieth regiment. Six hours after the detachment, commanded by that gentleman, was relieved by another of the ſame regiment, under the orders of Major DOBSON. This circumſtance, however, did not prevent Captain Parr from giving us the moſt obliging proofs of civility and kindneſs. He is a ſon of the aged Governor of Nova Scotia. At firſt he ſeems cold, grave, and reſerved; but his countenance brightens on a nearer acquaintance, and grows more open, gay, and cheerful; he ſoon fell into an eaſy familiarity of converſation, which was heightened during our dinner. His behaviour was entirely free from ceremony, and indicated that he was not diſpleaſed with our ſociety.

This dinner, which he gave to the newly arrived officers, forms for us a remarkable epocha. The ingenuity of the Engliſh in deviſing toaſts, which are to be honoured with bumpers, is well known. To decline joining in ſuch a toaſt would be deemed uncivil; and, although it might be more adviſeable to ſubmit to this charge, than to contract a ſickneſs, yet ſuch energy of character

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is ſeldom diſplayed on theſe occaſions. Unwilling to oppoſe the general will, which becomes more imperious in proportion as heads grow warmer, you reſort to ſlight deceptions in the quantity you drink, in hopes thus to avert the impending cataſtrophe. But this time none of us, whether French or Engliſh, had carried the deception far enough, and I was concerned to feel, the remainder of the evening, that I had taken too lively a part in the event of the two detachments relieving each other.

The ſixtieth regiment, to which they belong, is the only regiment in the Engliſh ſervice, excepting the guards, which conſiſts of four battalions. This regiment, which at the time of the war of 1757 was compoſed only of two battalions, was raiſed in America, and as many foreigners as Engliſhmen were enliſted. It was afterwards augmented to four battalions, and was conſidered, as in fact it is ſtill in many reſpects, as a foreign regiment. The firſt two battalions have never yet left America; the two others have been ſtationed in Jerſey, Guernſey, and the Antilles. General AMHERST is colonel of this regiment*. In point of duty, promotion, and command, the

* On the death of Lord Amherſt, His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York was appointed Colonel of the ſixtieth regiment.—*Tranſlator.*

four

four battalions are perfectly independent of each other.

The officers we have seen are well bred and extremely polite. *

The general opinion, in regard to Canada, is, that this country proves, at present, very burthensome to England, and will be still more so in future; and that, of consequence, Great Britain would consult her true interest much better by declaring Canada an independent country, than by preserving it an English colony, at so enormous an expence. The Canadians, say they, will never be sincerely attached to England, so that, if, in time of war, a militia were raised, not half of them would take up arms against America, and none perhaps against France. The British government commits, therefore, in their opinion, a gross error, in expending such vast sums in attempting to improve and preserve a country, which, sooner or later, is sure to secede from Great Britain, and which, did it remain faithful to the mother country, could not be of real service to it for any length of time.

These gentlemen further assert, in direct contradiction to General Simcoe's opinion, that the majority of new settlers of Upper Canada, who emigrate from the United States, and who are esteemed

eſteemed loyaliſts, would certainly aſſiſt thoſe States, if they marched any troops into that country. I am not qualified to form a correct judgment on theſe opinions, which are perhaps mere effuſions of the diſpleaſure of officers, obliged to ſerve at ſo great a diſtance from Great Britain; * yet they appear to me not altogether deſtitute of foundation. But, however this may be, all the Canadians, we have ſeen, whether inhabitants of the country or ſailors, conſtantly expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction on meeting with us Frenchmen of old France, and evinced a degree of reſpect and obligingneſs, to which we had long been unaccuſtomed. I cannot ſay much on the character of this people; all who came under my obſervation were full of ſpirit, active, gay and merry.

The royal navy is not very formidable in this place; ſix veſſels compoſe the whole naval force, two of which are ſmall gun-boats, which we ſaw

* Whether the political opinions of the officers of the ſixtieth regiment, alluded to by the Duke, be correctly ſtated, muſt be left to theſe gentlemen to explain. But the ſuppoſition, that Britiſh officers, from a mere diſlike to remote garriſons, ſhould cenſure adminiſtration for not abandoning a colony, which in the author's opinion is "a bright jewel in the Britiſh crown"—"an important "conqueſt," and the loſs of which appears to him "a pub-"lic calamity," is an effuſion of Gallic petulance, which ſhould not paſs unnoticed.—*Tranſlator.*

at Niagara, and which are ſtationed at York. Two ſmall ſchooners of twelve guns, viz. the Onondago, in which we took our paſſage, and the Mohawk, which is juſt finiſhed; a ſmall yacht of eighty tons, mounting ſix guns, and laſtly the Miſſaſoga, of as many guns as the two ſchooners, which has lately been taken into dock to be repaired, form the reſt of it. All theſe veſſels are built of timber freſh cut down, and not ſeaſoned, and for this reaſon laſt never longer than ſix or eight years. To preſerve them even to this time requires a thorough repair; they muſt be heaved down and caulked, which coſts at leaſt from one thouſand to one thouſand two hundred guineas. The expence for building the largeſt of them amounts to four thouſand guineas. This is an enormous price, and yet it is not ſo high as on Lake Erie, whither all ſorts of naval ſtores muſt be ſent from Kingſton, and where the price of labour is ſtill higher. The timbers of the Miſſaſoga, which was built three years ago, are almoſt all rotten. It is ſo eaſy to make proviſion of ſhip-timber for many years to come, as this would require merely the felling of it, and that too at no great diſtance from the place where it is to be uſed, that it is difficult to account for this precaution not yet having been adopted. Two gunboats, which are deſtined by Governor Simcoe to

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ſerve only in time of war, are at preſent on the ſtocks; but the carpenters, who work at them, are but eight in number. The extent of the dilapidations and embezzlements, committed at ſo great a diſtance from the mother-country, may be eaſily conceived. In the courſe of laſt winter, a judicial enquiry into a charge of this nature was inſtituted at Kingſton. The commiſſioner of the navy, and the principal ſhip-wright, it was aſſerted, had clearly colluded againſt the King's intereſt; but intereſt and protection are as powerful in the New World as in the Old:—for both the commiſſioner and ſhip-wright continue in their places.

Captain BOUCHETTE commands the naval force on Lake Ontario; and is at the head of all the marine eſtabliſhments, yet without the leaſt power in money-matters. This gentleman poſſeſſes the confidence both of Lord Dorcheſter and Governor Simcoe; he is a Canadian by birth, but entered the Britiſh ſervice, when Canada fell into the power of England. While ARNOLD and MONTGOMERY were beſieging Quebec, Lord Dorcheſter, diſguiſed as a Canadian, ſtole on board his ſhip into that city, on which occaſion he diſplayed much activity, intrepidity and courage. It is not at all a matter of ſurpriſe, that Lord Dorcheſter ſhould bear in mind this emi-

nent ſervice. By all accounts, he is altogether incorruptible, and an officer, who treats his inferiors with great mildneſs and juſtice.

In regard to the pay of the royal marine force on Lake Ontario; a captain has ten ſhillings a day, a lieutenant ſix, and a ſecond lieutenant three ſhillings and ſixpence. The ſeamens' wages are eight dollars per month. The maſters of merchantmen have twenty-five dollars, and the ſailors from nine to ten dollars a month.

Commodore Bouchette is among thoſe, who moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſe the project of removing to York the central point of the force on the lake; but his family reſide at Kingſton; and his lands are ſituated near that place. Such reaſons are frequently of ſufficient weight to determine political opinions.

The deſertion among the troops is not ſo conſiderable from Kingſton, as from the forts Oſwego, St. John, Niagara, and Détroit; from all thoſe poſts, in ſhort, which lie nearer to the United States. Yet, it is pretty prevalent in all the garriſons of Britiſh America. We were told by the officers, that the firſt two or three years after the arrival of the regiment from Europe, no ſoldier deſerts, but that envy and habit ſoon corrupt their mind. The diſcipline appears to me more ſevere in the Britiſh ſervice, than it ever

ever was in ours; the men are treated with leſs attention and kindneſs.

Several regiments employ the Indians to apprehend deſerters. In addition to the eight dollars, which are allowed by government for every deſerter, brought back to his regiment, the captains promiſe them eight dollars out of their private purſe, and inſpirit them by ſome glaſſes of rum. Theſe Indians then enter the American territory, where they are acquainted with every foot-path, every track, which they purſue without ever loſing their way, and frequently fall in with the deſerter, whom they ſtop, bind and bring back. If the deſerter, which is frequently the caſe, be attended by inhabitants of the United States, the Indians make no attempt to ſtop him, but the Engliſh officers place ſufficient confidence in the honeſty of the Indians to ſuppoſe, that they will not ſuffer themſelves to be bribed either by money or rum, which the deſerters might offer.

The neareſt regular Indian habitations are forty miles diſtant from Kingſton, and belong to the Mohawks. About the ſame diſtance from the town are alſo ſome villages of the Miſſaſogas, and wandering tribes of the ſame nation are conſtantly rambling about the banks of the lake, paſs a few nights in one place and a few in another, croſs the river on the confines of the

United States, and ſtop in the iſlands. Hunting and fiſhing are their only employments. They are the filthieſt of all the Indians, I have hitherto ſeen, and have the moſt ſtupid appearance. They are ſaid to live poorly, to be wicked and thieviſh, and men, women and children all given to drinking. The uncommon ſeverity of the winter in this country occaſions not the leaſt alteration in their mode of living. In their ſmall canoes they carry with them ſome rolls of the bark of ſoft birch *, which ſerve to cover the huts, built in form of a cone, wherein they ſleep, and which are ſupported merely by ſome ſlight props, on which reſt theſe portable walls, that at the top leave a paſſage for the ſmoke.

In the month of September the Indians bring wild rice to Kingſton, which grows on the borders of the lake, eſpecially on the American ſide. This plant, which loves marſhy ground, ſucceeds there remarkably well. The Indians bring yearly from four to five hundred pounds of this rice, which ſeveral inhabitants of Kingſton purchaſe for their own conſumption. This rice is of a ſmaller and darker grain than that, which comes from Carolina, Egypt, &c. but grows as white in the water, is of as good a flavour, and affords full as

* Betula lenta, Linn. called by the French inhabitants of Canada, mériſier.—*Tranſl.*

good

good nouriſhment, as the latter. The culture of rice would be very uſeful in Europe for the ſubſiſtence of the poor, eſpecially as in thoſe parts the frequent uſe of it would not prove injurious to health, which it certainly does in hot countries. *Wild rice* is ſaid to be the ſame plant, which in Canada is called *wild oats* (folle avoine).*

The ſame banks of Lake Ontario, where this wild rice grows, produce alſo a ſpecies of hemp, which grows up to a conſiderable height without the leaſt culture, and is apparently as uſeful as that, which is cultivated in France. It is ſtronger, produces more ſeed, and its tranſplantation to Europe would probably be attended with beneficial reſults.

To beguile *ennui*, and enjoy a few hours longer the ſociety of our friend, Captain Parr, we accompanied him to the diſtance of ſix miles from Kingſton. His detachment occupied ſeven veſſels, and he had one for himſelf. The ſoldiers were without exception as much intoxicated as I ever ſaw any in the French ſervice. On the day of their departure they were ſcarcely able to row, which rendered our tour extremely tedious.

† The Duke ſeems to be miſinformed on this ſubject. The *wild oat* (avena fatua) is a plant altogether different from *wild rice*, (oryza ſylveſtris, Linn.)—*Tranſl.*

On our return, wind and current were againſt us, ſo that we proceeded very ſlowly. Canadians rowed our boat, and according to their cuſtom ceaſed not a moment to ſing. One of them ſings a ſong, which the reſt repeat, and all row to the tune. The ſongs are gay and merry, and frequently ſomewhat more; they are only interrupted by the laugh they occaſion. The Canadians, on all their tours on the water, no ſooner take hold of the oars, than they begin to ſing, from which they never ceaſe until they lay the oars down again. You fancy yourſelf removed into a province of France; and this illuſion is ſweet. Our whole day, from ſix o'clock in the morning until nine at night, was conſumed in this tour. So much the better; a day is gone; for although the unwearied politeneſs of the officers afford us every day in Kingſton a comfortable dinner and agreeable ſociety from four to eight o'clock in the evening, yet we cannot but feel much *ennui* in a place, where no ſort of amuſement, no well-informed man, and no books ſhorten the long lingering day.

Our ſituation is extremely unpleaſant, and might well render us melancholy, did we give up our mind to irkſome reflection. Mr. Guillemard is gone to Montreal, with the Captain. He is perfectly right, for he would have ſhared in

our

our wearineſs, without giving us the leaſt relief. He is a man of ſuperior worth. The goodneſs of his heart, united to the charms of an enlightened mind, have long inſpired me with the ſtrongeſt attachment for him. His determination to leave us gave me, therefore, the utmoſt concern.

After a hearty breakfaſt, ſerved up at a place ſomewhat remote from the troop, we took leave of Captain Parr. The place, where we breakfaſted, belongs to Captain STORE, a native of Connecticut, captain in the militia of Upper Canada, a loyaliſt and proprietor of ſeven hundred acres of land, by virtue of a grant of the Britiſh government. He is owner of a ſaw-mill, which is ſituated on the creek of Guanſignougua, and has two movements, one of which works fourteen ſaws, and the other only one. The former may be widened and narrowed; but frequently cannot work all at once, from the ſize of the logs and the thickneſs of the boards. We ſaw thirteen ſaws going; a log, fifteen feet in length, was cut into boards in thirty-ſeven minutes. The ſame power, which moves the ſaws, lifts alſo, as it does near the falls of Niagara, the logs on the jack. For the ſawing of logs the Captain takes half the boards; the price of the latter is three ſhillings for one hundred feet, if one inch

in

in thickneſs, four ſhillings and ſixpence, if one inch and half, and five ſhillings, if two inches. The ſame boards, if only one inch thick, coſt five ſhillings in Kingſton. On the other ſide of the creek, facing Dutchmill (this is the name of Captain Store's mill), ſtands another mill, which belongs to Mr. JOHNSON, who uſes half the water of the creek. We viewed the latter only at a diſtance from the ſhore; the whole proſpect is wild, pleaſing and romantic, and made me ſincerely regret my unſkilfulneſs in drawing. The land is here as good as at Kingſton.

Although a communication by land is opened between Montreal and Kingſton, and though half the road is very good, yet the intercourſe between theſe places is moſtly carried on by water. The rapidity of the ſtream does not prevent veſſels from being worked up the river, and this tedious paſſage is preferred to that by land, even for the troops. All the proviſions, with which Canada is ſupplied from Europe, are tranſported in the ſame way; and the whole correſpondence is carried on by this conveyance, but in a manner extremely irregular; at times eight days elapſe even in ſummer, without any veſſel going up or coming down the lake.

During our long reſidence in Upper Canada we had an opportunity of ſeeing a Canadian family, who

who were emigrating to the Illinois River. The husband had examined the settlement last year, and was now removing thither with his whole family, consisting of his wife and four children, all embarked in a boat made of bark, fifteen feet in length by three in width. While the parents were rowing at the head and stern, the children, excepting the oldest, who was likewise rowing, were seated on mattresses or other effects; and thus they sang and pursued their voyage of at least one thousand one hundred miles. We met them at Newark. They proceed along the banks of the lakes and rivers, lie still every night, make a sort of tents of their sheets supported by two poles, dress their supper, eat it, wrap themselves up in their blankets until the morning, set off at eight o'clock, stop once a day to a meal, and then pursue their voyage again until the evening. They generally advance from fifteen to twenty miles a day, but, when bad weather comes on, or they meet with rapids or other obstructions, which force them to go by land, their progress is shorter, and they frequently rest a whole day. Having set out from Montreal, they came up Lake Ontario; thence they pass Lake Erie, go up the Miami River, travel about six or seven miles by land, and then reach the Theakiki River, which empties itself into the Illinois, or embark on the

the Wabaſh*, which communicates by ſeveral branches with the Illinois, and thus proceed to the ſpot where they intend to ſettle. New coloniſts commonly form their ſettlements on the banks of that river, and chiefly conſiſt of French Canadians.

There is another way from Montreal to the Illinois, which is ſaid to be more frequented than the former; namely, up the Ottawas River or Great River † to Nipiſſing Lake, and thence by the French River to Lake Huron. On this way you meet with thirty-ſix places where the boats are to be carried over land, which, however, are very ſhort. From Lake Huron you proceed by the Straits of Michillimakkinak to Green Bay, thence by the Crocodile River, Roe Lake, and River Saxe, after a ſhort paſſage over land to Ouiſconſing River, which empties itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi, which you deſcend as far as the Illinois, and thence go up this river. The way, juſt pointed out, is much longer than the other, but is generally preferred, eſpecially by the agents of the

* This beautiful river of the north-weſt territory is peculiarly celebrated on account of a copper mine on its northern bank, which is the richeſt vein of native copper that has hitherto been diſcovered.—*Tranſl.*

† The Duke ſeems miſinformed as to the appellation of the Great River, by which the Miami is meant in America, not the Ottawas.—*Tranſl.*

fur-

fur-trade. On turning to the weſtward, this is the ſame way, which you travel from Montreal as far as the Straits of Michillimakkinak, which you leave on the left, to reach Lake Superiour, on which you proceed to the great carrying place, thence to the Lake of the Woods, and ſo on.

The ſettlement on the Illinois is a large *depôt* for the fur-trade; nay, it is the laſt principal factory in that direction, the chief magazine of which is at Fort Michillimakkinak; but the agents travel one hundred miles farther and traffic even with the Indians of Louiſiana.

This traffic is chiefly carried on with rum, but alſo with guns, gun-powder, balls, blankets, ſmall coral collars, ſmall ſilver buckles, bracelets, and ear-rings, which are all worn by the Indians in proportion as they are more or leſs rich.

The common ſtandard, by which the Indians eſtimate the value of their peltry, is the beaver-ſkin; ſo many cat-ſkins are worth one beaver-ſkin; buckles, guns, or a certain quantity of rum, are worth one or two beaver-ſkins, or perhaps only a part of one. The traders generally give the Indians in ſummer a part of the articles they want on credit; but the ſkins they take in exchange are ſold at ſo low a price, and the proviſion they ſell rated ſo high, that they can well afford to give credit, the more ſo as the Indians are,

are, in general, pretty punctual in fulfilling their engagements. These Indians hunt, live in families rather than in tribes, and are, by all accounts, distinguished by the same vices, the same qualities, and the same manners, as those we have had an opportunity of observing in the vicinity of the lakes.

The trade in these parts is carried on not by the Hudson's Bay Company, but by two or three houses in Montreal, especially by Mr. TODE, to whom I am indebted for the communication of these particulars. The Missouri River alone has hitherto been shut up against foreign traders by the Spaniards, who have there a fort. Besides the Canadian habitations, which stand along the banks of the Illinois either scattered or assembled in villages and towns, the Illinois Town contains about three thousand inhabitants. There are also some Canadians, who reside among the Indians, and live exactly as they do. All these settlements are in the north-west territory, belonging to the United States; for that part of the banks of the Missouri, which appertains to Spain, is not inhabited, excepting St. Louis and St. Genevieve, for eighty miles from New Orleans, and but very thinly peopled beyond this.

Such peltry as is exported in the course of trade is conveyed to Montreal by the same way which the

the traders travel to these points. The mouth of the Mississippi, which by the new treaty with Spain has been ceded to the Americans *, and the friendly manner in which the Spanish Governor favours this branch of commerce, procure their trade a more expeditious and less expensive outlet, so that in this way the expence has been lessened one-tenth. By the same way furs can be transmitted either to the United States or to any part of Europe, as the merchant chooses, while all peltry, which reaches Montreal, by the English laws can be sent only to Great Britain. The provision to be exchanged for these articles may also be bought in the cheapest market, and, consequently, at a much lower rate than in Montreal, where the exorbitant duty on all merchandize, landed in Canada, and which, moreover, Great Britain alone has a right to import, raises their price in an enormous degree.

The furs in the whole of this country are of an inferior quality, if compared with the peltry of those parts which are situated north of the lakes, where the Hudson's Bay Company alone carries on this trade. By Mr. Tode's account you may

* By the treaty of 1796, between the United States and Spain, the former obtained the free navigation of the Mississippi, but not the cession of the mouth or rather mouths of the river.—*Transl.*

travel,

travel, in an eaſy manner, from Montreal to the Illinois in fifteen days, and from the Illinois to New Orleans in twenty. The navigation of the Miſſiſſippi is good, but requires great prudence and attention, on account of the rapidity of the ſtream, and the great number of trunks of trees with which its bed is filled in ſeveral places. The whole country, through which it flows, is extremely fertile and delightful.

On Wedneſday the 22d of July arrived the long-expected anſwer from Lord Dorcheſter. It was of a nature to ſtrike us with amazement—a ſolemn prohibition, drawn up in the uſual form, againſt coming to Lower Canada. It was impoſſible to expect any thing of that kind. Mr. Hammond, the Engliſh Miniſter to the United States, had invited us himſelf to viſit Canada, and removed the difficulties, which, from the report of other Engliſhmen, I apprehended on the part of the Governor-general, by aſſuring me, that Lord Dorcheſter had requeſted him to take it for the future entirely upon himſelf, to grant paſſports for Lower Canada, as he knew better than the Governor-general the travellers who came from the United States; and that the letters which he ſhould give me would, without previouſly concerting with Lord Dorcheſter, ſecure me from all unpleaſant incidents. I could not,

not, therefore, entertain the leaſt apprehenſion of a refuſal, as I had not the ſmalleſt reaſon to ſuppoſe that Mr. Hammond, who had loaded me with civilities, would have deceived me on this ſubject.

But his Excellency had been pleaſed to order his Secretary to ſend me an order of baniſhment, which he had not even taken the trouble to ſign. They told me, by way of conſolation, that his Excellency was rather weak of intellect, that he did not do any thing himſelf, &c.; that ſome emigrated French prieſt might have played me this trick by his influence over his Lordſhip's ſecretary or his miſtreſs;—and well may this be the caſe; for, though, Heaven be thanked! I have never injured any one, yet I find conſtantly people in my way, who endeavour to injure me. But, be this as it may, a reſolution muſt be taken, and the beſt of any is, to laugh at the diſappointment. May it be the only, or at leaſt the moſt ſerious fruſtration of my hopes, which yet awaits me.

On my arrival in Canada, *my Grace* was overwhelmed with honours, attended by officers, complimented and reverenced wherever I made my appearance; and now—baniſhed from the ſame country like a miſcreant!

"*Et je n'ai mérité*
"*Ni cet excès d'honneur ni cette indignité.*"

On such occasions, as in many other situations in life, we ought to call to mind, that our own sentiments and feelings can alone honour or degrade us, and that conscious rectitude exalts us above all villains, great and low, above all fools, and all tattlers.

My eagerness to quit the English possessions as soon as possible, after the receipt of this letter, will be easily conceived; though, upon the whole, I cannot too often repeat, that the civilities shewn us by the English officers at Kingston, as well as Niagara, deserve our warmest praise.

Major Dobson being sensible of the necessity of our leaving Canada with the utmost speed, assisted us with true and sincere politeness, but for which we should not have been able to attain our end so soon as we wished; for, generally, no vessel sails from Kingston to the American coast except twice a year. He lent us his own barge, on board of which we embarked, four hours after the receipt of the Secretary's letter, for the United States, where no commandant, no governor, no minister, enjoys the right of offending honest men with impunity.

We shaped our course for Oswego, where we hoped to meet with an opportunity of a speedy passage for Albany. The four soldiers, who composed our crew, were intoxicated to such a degree,

gree, that the first day we scarcely made fifteen miles, though we sailed twelve of them. Mr. Lemoine, the officer who commanded them, made them pay dear for the delay of the preceding day, by obliging them to row this day at least fifty-five miles. We left, at four o'clock in the morning, the long island where we passed the night. A heavy fall of rain had wetted us through to the skin; the wind had destroyed the slight covering we had made of branches of trees; the musquitoes had nearly devoured us; in short, we had scarcely enjoyed a moment's rest. But the weather cleared up; the morning grew fine; and we soon forgot the sufferings of the preceding night.

We reached Oswego at half past eight in the evening, having scarcely stopped an hour in the whole course of the day. This passage is seldom effected in less than two days; but instead of coasting along the shore, we stretched from the place where we breakfasted straight over to Oswego, without approaching the land; an undertaking, which, but for the fairness of the weather, might have proved extremely hazardous.

Previous to our departure, we enjoyed the satisfaction of hearing the report of Admiral Hotham's second victory in the Mediterranean, and of the capture or destruction of four French ships,

with fifteen thouſand land-troops on board, deſtined for Corſica, contradicted by an officer, who arrived from Quebec. This action had been ſo frequently alleged to us, as a proof of the immenſe ſuperiority of Engliſh ſhips over the French, that we felt extremely happy on finding the whole report vaniſh like a dream.

The reſtoration of tranquillity and order in our country depends, at this time, more than ever on the ſucceſſes of the French.—May they be as complete as I wiſh. Good God, what would have become of us, if Great Britain and her allies ſhould prove victorious! I am free—Heaven be thanked!—from the rage againſt the Engliſh nation, which poſſeſſes ſo many Frenchmen, and cannot be juſtified by the ſtill fiercer rage of ſome Engliſhmen againſt the French. The Engliſh are a gallant and great nation; I wiſh they might be ſincerely allied with France— *

Oſwego is one of the poſts, which Great Britain has hitherto retained, in open violation of the treaty of peace, though ſhe will be obliged to deliver it up to the United States, in the courſe of next year. It is a miſerable fort, which, in the year 1782, was built at a conſiderable expence by General HALDIMAN, at that

that time Governor of Canada. The river Oſwego, at the mouth of which the fort is ſeated, is at preſent almoſt the only courſe for American veſſels to Lake Ontario. The fort is in a ruinous ſtate; one ſingle baſtion, out of five, which form the whole of the fortifications, is kept in better repair than the reſt, and might ſerve as a citadel, to defend for ſome time the other works, indefenſible by any other means. The preſent garriſon conſiſts of two officers and thirty men, under whoſe protection a cuſtomhouſe-officer ſearches all the veſſels, which ſail up or down the river. It is not lawful to import any other articles from the United States into Canada, but grain, flour, cattle, and proviſion, and no commodities are ſuffered to be exported to the United States, without expreſs permiſſion from the Governor of Upper Canada; nay, this prohibition extends even to perſons, who, if they intended to proceed to that country without ſuch permiſſion, would be impriſoned. As to the prohibited exports in merchandize, they are confiſcated, without exception, for the benefit of the cuſtomhouſe-officer, by whom they are ſeized. This naturally prompts his zeal, and increaſes his attention; but there are ſo many points along the coaſt, where the contraband trade can be carried on, that it will hardly be attempted in this place, where

the Americans are ſure to encounter ſo many difficulties and obſtructions. Yet ſome veſſels, now and then, ſlip out, under favour of the night. Two or three, which failed in the attempt, were laſt year taken and condemned. The large income of the receiver of cuſtoms, placed here three years ago, has hitherto been confined to theſe perquiſites. Americans, who from an ignorance of the ſeverity and latitude with which Engliſh prohibitions are enforced, have a larger quantity of proviſion on board, than the rigour of the Engliſh law permits, frequently ſee the ſurplus confiſcated to the augmentation of the cuſtoms, which, if exacted by leſs delicate hands than thoſe of the preſent receiver, might be carried to a much larger amount.

This officer is called Intendant-general: a fine title, which ornaments a ſtation, that, in fact, knows no ſuperiors, but has alſo no inferiors, excepting a director, who reſides at Niagara. The Intendant-general has not even a ſecretary. His pay is ten ſhillings a day, and a ration, which is eſtimated at two. He receives his pay all the year round, though the navigation of the lake is entirely interrupted for five months, and he himſelf is ſeven months abſent from Oſwego. Decorated with ſuch a title, and furniſhed with ſuch an income, he will hardly be ſuppoſed to tranſact himſelf

himſelf the trifling buſineſs of his place. This is entruſted to a non-commiſſioned officer, who makes his report. This is ſigned by the Intendant-general, who, in caſe of abſence from the fort, leaves blanks ſigned on his table. This *permit*, which authorizes all veſſels bound for Canada, to proceed thither, muſt alſo be ſigned by the commanding officer, for which every veſſel pays three-fourths of a dollar. For ſailing up the lake a verbal *permit* is given *gratis*.

The preſent Intendant-general is an intereſting young man, of the name of MAC-DONALD, who, in addition to his talents and abilities, poſſeſſes all the peculiar merits, for which his family has long been diſtinguiſhed in Canada. They came from Scotland, and ſettled here about twenty years ago. Mr. Mac-Donald ſerved as an officer in the American war. He is now on half-pay; his brothers hold commiſſions in a Canadian regiment, lately raiſed, and one of them is ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives of Upper Canada.

A man of Mr. Mac-Donald's extraction, in France, would injure his character, in the public opinion, by accepting a place in the cuſtoms. In England they know better. There, no injurious idea attaches to any profeſſion, which concurs in the execution of the laws; and no blame attaches to a nobleman for holding a place in the com-

miſſion of the cuſtoms, or turning merchant. He is, on the contrary, reſpected as much as if he belonged to the church, the army, or the navy, or were placed in any other honourable ſituation. Yet, if public opinion were altogether founded on juſt and reaſonable principles, it ſhould ſtigmatize all perſons, who hold ſinecures without any uſeful employment, and preſs conſequently as deal burthens on the State. This, however, is not the caſe in England.

The number of veſſels, which aſcend and deſcend the Oſwego during the ſeven months, the navigation is open, amounts to about thirty a month. By Mr. Mac-Donald's account far the greater number of them carry new ſettlers to Upper Canada, at which I am not aſtoniſhed, it being a certain fact, that the emigration from the United States to Canada is far more conſiderable, than from the latter to the former country.

Fort Oſwego is the only ſettlement on the banks of the lake between Kingſton and Niagara, excepting Great Sodus, where Captain Williamſon forms one, and which bids fair, as has already been obſerved, to become very proſperous; it is thirty miles diſtant from the fort. Twelve miles behind Oſwego, ſtands, on the river, the firſt American ſettlement. This fort muſt therefore

ſhift

ſhift for itſelf. The officers hunt, read, and drink; and the privates do duty, are diſpleaſed with their ſituation, and deſert. For this reaſon the oldeſt ſoldiers are ſelected for the garriſon of Oſwego; and yet, though leſs open to temptation, they deſert to the United States. This fort, which lies too remote for any communication with foreign countries, is for five months together completely cut off from the reſt of the world; the ſnow lying then ſo deep, that it is impoſſible to go abroad but in ſnow-ſhoes. A ſurgeon, who has ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence a day, augments the company in Oſwego. The gentleman, who fills this place at preſent, contributes much to heighten the pleaſure of the ſociety, by ſubmitting to be the general butt of railleries and jeſts.

The neareſt Indian habitations are forty miles diſtant from Oſwego; and yet there is an Indian interpreter appointed at this fort, who has three ſhillings and ſixpence a day and a ration. He was employed during the laſt war. In other places his appointment might carry at leaſt ſome appearance of utility; but here he is paid without having any employment. The commanding officer has five ſhillings a day in addition to the pay he enjoys by virtue of his commiſſion; he keeps oxen, cows, ſheep, fowls, &c. which, as a permanent

permanent ſtock, one commanding officer leaves to his ſucceſſor at a ſettled price.

The gardens are numerous, and beautiful, in the vicinity of the fort; the lake as well as the river abounds with fiſh; the chace procures plenty of game. The officers, therefore, live well in this wilderneſs, which they call Botany Bay, and yet wiſh to wreſt from the Americans. We experienced from all of them a very kind reception.

The land in the neighbourhood of Oſwego is very indifferent; the trees are of a middling growth, and the wood-lands have a poor appearance.

As fate would not permit me to ſee Lower Canada, I ſhall here throw together ſome particulars, I had collected reſpecting that country. I counted on certifying and arranging them on the ſpot; and although I have not been able to do this, yet they ſhall not be loſt, either to myſelf or my friends.

The people of Canada poſſeſs the French national character; they are active, brave, and induſtrious; they undergo the ſevereſt toils, endure hardſhips with fortitude, and conſole and comfort themſelves with ſmoaking, laughing and ſinging; they are pleaſed with every thing, and

checked

checked and diſpirited by nothing, neither by the length, or exceſſive fatigue of a journey, nor by the bad quality of their food, if their ſpirits be kept up by pleaſantries and jeſts. They are employed in all voyages. At the beginning of ſpring they are called together from the different diſtricts of both provinces, either for the King's ſervice, or that of trade. The people, employed in this manner, reſide about Montreal, and ſome miles lower down, as far as Quebec. Several of them live in Montreal, where they carry on a trade, which occupies them in winter. Their own inclination and taſte invite them to this active and roving mode of life. Some of them are farmers, who leave the houſing of the harveſt to their wives and neighbours; others are artizans, who ſhut up their ſhops and depart. We met ſome of them, who were tanners, ſaddlers, butchers, joiners, &c. and who by all accounts were very good workmen. They leave their country for a ſummer, for one year or more, according to the work, which they are called to perform; and ſometimes only for a ſhort voyage. In the King's ſervice they are employed in working the ſhips from Montreal, or rather China, which is three miles nearer, up to Kingſton. This paſſage, which is rendered extremely troubleſome by the numerous *rapids* in the river, takes

takes up nine days, more or leſs, the back paſſage only three days, and the lading and unlading at leaſt one. For this voyage they receive two Louis d'ors and are found in victuals; if not employed in actual ſervice, they receive no pay. They now begin to ſerve as ſailors on board the ſhipping on the lake. Commodore Bouchette is much pleaſed with them. Their wages amount to nine dollars a month both on board the King's ſhips, and in merchantmen, engaged in the fur-trade.

Mr. MACKENZIE was attended by ſeveral of them on his travels to the South Sea; he brings them back with him from a journey, which, it was ſuppoſed, would extend as far as the former, but which he intends to terminate at the laſt factory. By the account of the Engliſh themſelves, who do not like them, they are the beſt rowers, extremely dexterous in extricating themſelves from difficulties, inured to labour, and very ſober, though at times they are apt to drink rum rather too freely. In this caſe their gaiety grows noiſy, while the Engliſh in a ſimilar ſituation frequently grow ſad and melancholy.

There exiſt few people, among whom crimes are leſs frequent, than among the Canadians; murders are never committed, and thefts very ſeldom; yet the people in general are ignorant.

But

But this defect is to be imputed less to the people, than the government, whose system it is to cherish and preserve this ignorance. No colleges have yet been established in Canada; and the schools are very few in number. Hence it is that the education even of the richest Canadians is much neglected; but few of them write with any tolerable correctness of spelling, and a still smaller number possess any knowledge, though some of them hold seats in the Legislative Council of the province. I must, however, mention, that I have received this information from Englishmen, whose accounts of the Canadians deserve but little credit, from the most prominent feature of their national character consisting in a warm attachment to France, which on every occasion they display more or less, according to the class of society, to which they belong, and to the extent of their wishes and expectations, relative to the British government.

I have already observed, that all the families in Canada have retained the French manners and customs; that but very few Canadians, perhaps not one in a hundred, understand the English tongue; that they will not learn it, and that none of those, who understand that language, will talk it, except those, who from the nature of their

their employments have a conſtant intercourſe with the military.

The Britiſh government has, ſince the conqueſt, from a ſilly affectation, changed the names of the towns, iſlands, rivers, nay of the ſmalleſt creeks. But the Canadians make no uſe of theſe new appellations, but either from affectation or habit retain the ancient French names.

Many members of the Aſſembly, as well as of the Legiſlative Council of Lower Canada, are French inhabitants of Canada; the debates are carried on there in the French and Engliſh languages; the ſpeech of the French member is immediately tranſlated into Engliſh, and of the Engliſh into French.

The inveterate hatred of the Engliſh againſt the French, which is at once ſo ridiculous, ſo abſurd, and ſo humiliating for the people, inſomuch as it proves them to be mere tools of the ambition of their miniſtry—this hatred, which the lights, diffuſed through both countries, and the frequent intercourſe between the two nations, had nearly deſtroyed in Europe, before the French revolution broke out, has not abated here in the ſame degree. No Canadian has juſt grounds of complaint againſt the Britiſh government; the inhabitants of Canada acknowledge unanimouſly, that

that they are better treated than under the ancient French government; but they love the French, forget them not, long after them, hope for their arrival, will always love them, and betray these feelings too frequently and in too frank a manner, not to incur the displeasure of the English, who even in Europe have not yet made an equal progress with us in discarding the absurd prejudices of one people against another.

When Lord Dorchester, at the appearance of a war with the United States, tried last year to embody the militia in Canada, he met everywhere with remonstrances against this measure. A great number of Canadians refused to enlist at all; others declared openly, "that if they were to act against the Americans, they would certainly march in defence of their country, but that against the French they should not march, because they would not fight against their brethren." These declarations and professions, communicated to me by English officers, and of consequence unquestionably true, were not the effects of Jacobin intrigues; for, it is asserted, that at that very period the emissaries of the Convention complained of the character of the Canadians being averse to an insurrection; but they are the natural results of their attachment to France, which neither time, nor the mildness of the English

liſh adminiſtration has hitherto been able to extirpate. The notions of liberty and independence are, from their political ſituation, foreign to their minds. They pay no taxes, live well, at an eaſy rate, and in plenty; within the compaſs of their comprehenſion they cannot wiſh for any other good. They are ſo little acquainted with the principles of liberty, that it has coſt a great deal of trouble to eſtabliſh juries in their country; they oppoſe the introduction of the trial by juries, and in civil cauſes theſe are not yet in uſe. But they love France; this beloved country engages ſtill their affection. In their eſtimation, a Frenchman is a being far ſuperior to an Engliſhman. The French are the firſt nation on earth; becauſe, attacked by all Europe, they have repulſed and defeated all Europe. The Canadians conſider themſelves as Frenchmen; they call themſelves ſo; France is their native land. Theſe ſentiments and feelings cannot but be highly valued by a Frenchman, who muſt love and reſpect the good people of Canada. But, it will be eaſily conceived, that they diſpleaſe the Engliſh, who frequently diſplay their ill-humour, eſpecially the ſpirited and impatient Britiſh officers, by deſpiſing and abuſing the Canadians. "The French," ſay they, "beat them, ſtarved them, and put them into irons; they ſhould therefore be treated

by

by us in the ſame manner." Such are the opinions on this amiable and liberal-minded people, which you hear delivered during an Engliſh repaſt; ſeveral times have I heard them with indignation. People of more prudence and reſerve, it is true, do not profeſs theſe ſentiments in the ſame raſh and public manner; but they entertain them, and the people of Canada know full well, that ſuch are, in regard to them, the ſentiments of the generality of Engliſhmen.

Lower Canada, which pays no more taxes than Upper Canada, has of late been obliged to raiſe a yearly contribution of five thouſand pounds ſterling, to meet the public expence for the adminiſtration of juſtice, legiſlature, and other *items* in this province. This contribution or impoſt is laid on wine, brandy and other articles of luxury; it is raiſed as an exciſe, and conſequently is an indirect tax, but little burthenſome from its amount, as well as from the mode in which it is raiſed; and yet it has excited much diſcontent and diſpleaſure againſt the repreſentatives, who ſanctioned it by their conſent.

This is an outline of the ſentiments, which prevail among the people of Canada, and which I ſhould have more cloſely examined, had I been permitted to viſit Lower Canada. I have been aſſured, that Lord Dorcheſter, in conſequence of

the refuſal of the Canadians, to be embodied in regiments, deſired laſt year to return to England. Whether this be the true motive of his deſire to reſign, which is a certain fact, I know not. His diſpleaſure may alſo, perhaps, have been excited by the marked diſapprobation of the Engliſh miniſtry, reſpecting his addreſs to the Indian nation. However this may be, his reſignation has not been accepted. Lord Dorcheſter, from his conſtant good and kind demeanour to the Canadians, imagined he was beloved by that nation; his adminiſtration has throughout been marked with mildneſs and juſtice; he has ſupported the new conſtitution; he loves the Canadians, but his ſelf-love as well as patriotiſm and national pride have been much humbled by the ſentiments, diſplayed laſt year by the people of Canada.

I have already mentioned a converſation, in the courſe of which ſeveral officers delivered it as their opinion, that it would be for the intereſt of Great Britain to give up Canada. This is the general opinion of all Engliſhmen, who reſide in this country, excepting ſuch as on account of their ſtations and emoluments hold a different language. They, who ſhare in the government and adminiſtration of Canada, the Engliſh merchants and families, who have long reſided here, are far from profeſſing theſe principles, from a conviction,

tion, that in the proceſs of time Great Britain will reap conſiderable benefits from the poſſeſſion of Canada. Theſe are not the ideas which I entertain on this ſubject, conſidering either the extent or the nature and complexion of the Engliſh adminiſtration and government in this part of the globe. I conceive, that the enormous expence, incurred by Great Britain, is abſolutely unneceſſary, and that the ſtate of independence, in which ſhe endeavours to keep Canada, does not afford the greateſt and moſt permanent advantage ſhe might derive from that country.

What would be ſaid of a miniſtry, which would attempt to convince England, that the proceeds of her trade and extenſive navigation to Canada fall much ſhort of her yearly expence to maintain herſelf in the poſſeſſion of that colony, and propoſe to the Britiſh cabinet, to declare it independent, to aſſiſt it with ſubſidies the firſt years, and immediately to conclude with the Canadian government a treaty of amity and commerce? Such a miniſtry would undoubtedly be conſidered as a ſet of rank Jacobins. And yet it is highly probable, that Great Britain, while on the one hand ſhe ſaved a conſiderable expenditure, would on the other loſe none of her commercial advantages, form a permanent and extenſive connexion with Canada; and would ſpare herſelf

the humiliation of another colony being diſmembered from the Britiſh empire. But ſuch a reſolution ſhould be embraced without any ſecret views, and hidden projects, loyally and frankly; ſo that Canada, enjoying all the bleſſings of liberty and proſperity, might have no juſt grounds for any ſiniſtrous apprehenſions. However abſurd this language may appear, it is perhaps preciſely that, which all European powers ſhould, at this time, hold to their continental colonies; nay, with ſome modification, I think it ſhould even be addreſſed to the Weſt-Indian Iſlands. But away with political ſpeculations!

The Roman Catholic prieſts in Upper Canada are of the ſame caſt as our former country curates; their whole ſtock of knowledge being confined to reading and writing, they are of courſe unenlightened and ſuperſtitious. The French revolution has brought thither ſome of a ſuperior character, who are probably leſs indolent and more tolerant than the former. I am unacquainted with them, but the Britiſh officers are ſo aſtoniſhed at ſeeing French prieſts poſſeſſed of ſome ſenſe and knowledge, that, in their opinion, they are *very clever*.

The only branch of commerce belonging to Canada is the fur trade; with the whole extent and annual amount of which I had ſome hopes of getting

getting acquainted during my intended reſidence at Montreal. I know from Governor Simcoe, that it is far more inſignificant, than is generally believed, and that a conſiderable contraband trade in this article is already carried on in the United States, the chief agents of which are Canadian merchants. I know alſo, that this contraband trade, which they encourage on the river St. Lawrence, may likewiſe be carried on, without their aſſiſtance, with the United States, on Lake Erie, as well as on ſeveral points of the banks of Lake Ontario; and that the ſurrender of this fort to the United States, and the ſubſequent American ſettlements on the frontiers, will render it altogether impoſſible, to prevent this contraband trade. Beſides, it is well known, that the Canadian merchants, who ſend the peltry to England, are the abſolute maſters of this trade in this country, and that a monopoly, which raiſes the price of commodities to an exorbitant height, is the moſt powerful incitement to ſmuggling.

All the ſhips, in which the trade between Canada and Europe is carried on, are Engliſh bottoms; none of them belong to merchants of the country. Theſe poſſeſs but a few veſſels, which are built at Quebec, and employed in the inland trade. In no parts of Britiſh America are any ſhips built, but ſuch as navigate the lakes: even

at Halifax, ſhips are not built, but merely caulked and refitted. No ſhips but Engliſh bottoms are ſuffered to ſail from Canada for Europe; whence it is, that, if this navigation be intercepted or protracted, the utmoſt ſcarcity of European proviſion prevails in that country. This year, for inſtance, all the magazines and warehouſes in Canada were empty, on account of the ſhips, which generally arrive about the 15th of May, not having yet come in on the 20th of July. Since the 1ſt of July, not a bottle of wine, or a yard of cloth, could be procured for money, either at Quebec or Montreal. The officers, who came from theſe towns, and had not been able to ſupply their wants, complained of the abſolute impoſſibility of procuring any neceſſary article in Canada; and, I underſtand, the diſcontent, which prevails on this ſubject, is not confined to the military.

It is agreed, on all hands, that the Canadians are indifferent huſbandmen, that agriculture is imperfectly underſtood in this colony, and that, in this reſpect, the Engliſh have not tranſplanted hither either their own agricultural improvements, or any branch of European ſkill. The land is good, upon the whole; the beſt, which is in the iſland of Montreal, is worth from twenty to twenty-four dollars an acre. From this circumſtance,

cumſtance, which is certain, the wealth of the country may be partly eſtimated.

The ſevere froſt, which in winter generally prevails in Quebec, cauſes the mortar to crack, and every year occaſions expenſive repairs at the citadel, which never laſt long. The other ſtrong places in Britiſh America are conſtructed of wood, which is never ſeaſoned, but uſed as ſoon as felled, and conſequently decays very ſoon. In the whole fort of Oſwego, which was built about eleven years ago, there is not one ſound piece of timber to be found; and for the ſame reaſon the citadel of Halifax, which was conſtructed only ſeven years ago, is now rebuilding from the ground. This is all the information, which I have been able to collect, and which, however imperfect it be, may yet ſerve as a guide to other travellers in their purſuits of uſeful knowledge.

The northern borders of the baſon, which holds the waters of the Niagara, juſt above the falls, conſiſt of a fat and ſtrong reddiſh earth, lying on a ground of lime-ſtone.

The rocks, between which the ſtupendous cataract of Niagara ruſhes down, are alſo lime-ſtone, as are numerous fragments of rocks, which appear within the chaſm, and have undoubtedly been ſwept away by the tremendous torrent. At the bottom of the baſon you ſee alſo large maſſes

of white ſtone, of a fine grain, which the inhabitants aſſert to be the petrified foam of the fall, but which, in fact, appears to conſiſt of vitriolated lime. It does not effervesce with acids. I have tried no other experiments.

The ground between the falls and Queen's Town is a level tract, ſome hundred feet elevated above the plain, which joins Lake Ontario, and in which the town of Newark, and the fort of Niagara are ſituated.

This whole tract ſeems to conſiſt of lime and free ſtone, which contain petrifactions of ſea animals.

Over the plain near Newark are ſcattered large maſſes of a reddiſh granite, which lie inſulated on the lime-ſtone, like the large blocks of granite, which you ſee on Mount Saleve, near Geneva; ſo that it is impoſſible to account for their origin.

In the environs of Toranto, or York, the ſoil is in ſome places ſandy, in others light clay; no rocks are here to be found.

In Kingſton, or Kadaraque, on the north-eaſterly extremity of Lake Ontario, you find again the argillaceous, fine grained lime-ſtone, of a dark grey colour. Here, as nearly all along the borders of the lake, are found different ſorts of flints, ſchiſt, quartz, and granite.

You alſo find at Kingſton, at no great diſtance from

from the ſhore, a large black conglomeration, which has the appearance of baſalt, and great quantities of free-ſtone, with petrifactions of ſea animals.

The trees and plants, I have met with in Upper Canada, are nearly the ſame, which I obſerved in the northern diſtrict of Geneſſee. Yet I found the buck-eye, called by the Canadians *bois chicot*, the five-leaved ivy, which I have ſeen branched thirty feet high around an oak tree, the red cedar, the ſmall Canadian cherry (ragou minier), and black or ſweet birch. I have ſeen neither a papaw, nor a cucumber tree. The ginſeng root, which is pretty common in the territory of the United States, abounds in Canada, but forms here not ſo conſiderable an article of trade, as in the former country. The Canadians uſe an infuſion of this root as a cure for pains in the ſtomach, eſpecially if they proceed from debility; for colds, and, in ſhort, in all caſes where perſpiration may be required. They alſo make uſe of the leaves of maiden hair*, which is found in great abundance in the vicinity of Kingſton, inſtead of tea.

* Adianthum capillus veneris, Linn. a plant, from which the once celebrated "*ſyrop de capillaire*" took its name, which P. Formius, a phyſician of Montpellier, recommended as an univerſal medicine, in his treatiſe "De Adiantho," publiſhed 1634.—*Tranſl.*

Mr.

Mr. Guillemard having communicated to me the journal of his tour to Lower Canada, I ſhall extract from it ſuch particulars, as appear moſt proper to fill up the deficiencies of the information, which I have myſelf been able to collect. This journal confirms, upon the whole, the general obſervations, which I have made on that country. Although the intelligence, gathered by Mr. Guillemard, be not altogether as minute as I could have wiſhed, yet from the correctneſs of his judgment, and his character for veracity, the truth of his remarks cannot be queſtioned.

The paſſage from Kingſton to Quebec is made as far as China, in Canadian veſſels of about ten or fifteen tons burthen. The navigation from China to Montreal being intercepted by the falls of St. Louis, this part muſt be travelled by land. Ships of any burthen may ſail from Montreal to Quebec.

The rapids are of various deſcriptions. They are either whirlpools, occaſioned by rocks, againſt which the water ſtrikes in its courſe, or ſtrong declinations of the bed of the river, the rapid motion of which is checked by few or no obſtructions. Carried by rapids of this nature, ſhips may advance ſixteen miles in an hour. Thoſe of the former deſcription are the moſt dangerous,

dangerous, though misfortunes but seldom occur. They are most frequent on the cedar passage.

From Montreal to Quebec the river flows with great velocity, but without any rapids. In Lake St. Peter* ships must keep within a natural canal, from twenty to fifteen feet in depth; in other places the lake is only from four to six feet deep. It is under contemplation to make a canal from China to Montreal, by which the interruption of the water conveyance from China to Montreal will be removed.

There are few or no settlements between Kingston and St. John's, the chief place of the lower district of Upper Canada, about midway between Kingston and Montreal.† Between this place and Montreal they are rather more numerous, yet still few in number.

The right banks, belonging to England, are more thinly inhabited than the left. The few habitations you here meet with lie, almost all of

* This lake is a part of St. Lawrence river. Its centre is sixty-eight miles above Quebec, and two hundred and five north-east of Kingston, at the mouth of Lake Ontario. *Translator.*

† St. John's belongs not to the lower district of Upper Canada, but to Lower Canada. By an ordinance of the 7th of July, 1796, it has been established as the sole port of entry and clearance for all goods imported from the interior of the United States into Canada. *Translator.*

them,

them, contiguous to the river. Between Montreal and Quebec they ſtand more cloſely together. Even the inland parts are inhabited within three or four miles of the ſhore; and ſo are almoſt all the borders of the rivers and brooks which fall into the ſtream. To judge from the habitations and the mode of cultivation, theſe ſettlements are the worſt of any you meet with in the United States; on the right ſide of the river the plantations do not extend to ſo great a diſtance into the interior of the country.

The ſoil is generally good, eſpecially in the iſlands. It bears a variety of fine trees and excellent graſs. The land in the iſland of Montreal is eſteemed the beſt; while in other inhabited parts the price of the land is at moſt five dollars per acre, it coſts in the iſland of Montreal from twenty to twenty-five. There are eſtates in the vicinity of Quebec either ſomewhat better cultivated than the reſt, or furniſhed with a good dwelling-houſe and out-buildings, the lands belonging to which bear a ſtill higher price. Upon the whole there is but little land ſold, either from the poverty of the inhabitants, or the difficulties attending a ſale, for reaſons which I ſhall detail in another place.

Agriculture is as bad in Lower Canada as it poſſibly can be. In the vicinity of Quebec and Montreal

Montreal no manure is known but ſtable dung, and even this the farmers uſed not long ago to throw into the river. What is here called cultivated land is, even on the banks of the river, neither more nor leſs than ground merely cleared in tracts of about forty or fifty acres, and encloſed with rough fences. In the midſt of theſe tracts are ſmall plots of cultivated ground ſown with wheat, Indian corn, rye, peaſe, and clover; they very ſeldom take up the whole ſpace encloſed. The farmers are a frugal ſet of people, but ignorant and lazy. In order to ſucceed in enlarging and improving agriculture in this province, the Engliſh government muſt proceed with great prudence and perſeverance. For, in addition to the unhappy prejudices, which the inhabitants of Canada entertain in common with the farmers of all other countries, they alſo foſter a ſtrong miſtruſt againſt every thing which they receive from the Engliſh; and this miſtruſt is grounded on the idea, that the Engliſh are their conquerors, and the French their brethren.

There are ſome exceptions from this bad agricultural ſyſtem, but they are few. The beſt cultivators are always landholders arrived from England. Mr. Touzy, an Engliſh clergyman in Quebec, who arrived very lately from Suffolk in England, is now occupied in clearing and cultivating

vating in the Engliſh manner from ſeven to eight thouſand acres, which he holds from government, or at leaſt a part of this grant. Should he be gifted with ſufficient perſeverance to ſucceed, he cannot fail to become extremely uſeful to this part of the globe. In the mean while, it is a matter of general aſtoniſhment in Quebec, that he ſhould form any ſuch eſtabliſhments at ſo great a diſtance from the town, and yet this diſtance exceeds not fifteen miles.

On the road from Montreal to Quebec the dwelling-houſes are ſome of them built with ſmall ſtones, and others with wood plaſtered over with lime, which abounds in the country; the inſide of ſuch of theſe buildings, as are inhabited by Canadians, is miſerable and filthy. In moſt of them, which ſtand along the road, and where of conſequence the death of the King of France is known, you find his portrait, the print which repreſents him taking leave of his family, his execution, and his laſt will. All theſe prints are ſomething venerable to the Canadians, without impairing their attachment to the French.

Montreal and Quebec reſemble two provincial towns in France; the former ſtands in a pleaſant and delightful ſituation; the latter is ſeated half on the bank of the river and half on the adjoining rock. The lower part of the town is inhabited by

by the merchants and trade's-people, and the upper part by the military. From its poſition, encircled as it is with mountains, and from the works conſtructed to encreaſe its actual ſtrength, Quebec belongs to the fortreſſes of the ſecond or third rank.

The military, it ſeems, enjoy in this city, on account of the preſence of the Governor-general, and of the great number of officers and other perſons attached to the army, the ſame diſtinction in ſociety, which the merchants poſſeſs at Montreal.

The Canadian gentry, who reſide in towns, are much poorer than the Engliſh, invited hither either by conſiderable pay, attached to their places, or ſome other valuable income. They live in general by themſelves; and as they ſpend leſs than the Engliſh, the latter are apt to call them avaricious and proud; and the former fail not to return the compliment in a different manner. The Engliſh merchants are rich and hoſpitable.

In point of furniture, meals, &c. the Engliſh faſhions and manners prevail, even in ſome of the moſt opulent Canadian families connected with adminiſtration. In other Canadian families of diſtinction the French cuſtoms have been preſerved.

The export and import trade of Canada employs

ploys about thirty veſſels, and is merely carried on with and through England. From an extract of the cuſtom-houſe books for 1786, procured by Mr. Guillemard, the exports in that year appear to have amounted to three hundred and twenty-five thouſand one hundred and ſixteen pounds, Halifax currency, and the imports to two hundred and forty-three thouſand two hundred and ſixty-two. Since that year not only large quantities of corn have been exported, but the trade has, upon the whole, been conſiderably encreaſed by the great agricultural improvements made in both provinces, but eſpecially in Upper Canada.

The whole amount of a common harveſt in Lower Canada is eſtimated at four thouſand buſhels, three fourths of which are conſumed in the country. The principal *depôt* of the peltry-trade is in Montreal.

I ſhall at the end of this article ſubjoin ſome ſatisfactory information reſpecting this trade, extracted from a journal, the veracity of which is unqueſtionable.

The navigation of the River St. Lawrence is ſhut up by froſt ſeven months of the year.

An iron-work on the *Trois Rivières*, and a diſtillery near Quebec, are the only manufactories in Canada, and both in a very low ſtate. The iron-

iron-work cannot even ſupply Lower Canada with the neceſſary articles; it belongs to merchants of Quebec and Montreal, who make no uſe of the machinery employed in England in manufactories of that deſcription. The iron-ore is found in the neighbouring rivers, and alſo in grains on the ſurface of the ſoil. It is very rich, and known by the name of St. Maurice ore. The work employs about twenty workmen, all of them Canadians; they forge the iron into bars, manufacture tools for artiſans, utenſils, pots, &c. and earn three quarters of a dollar a day, but are not boarded by the owners of the work.

In the diſtillery whiſky and geneva are diſtilled, but very little of either. The number of workmen is very ſmall; their daily wages conſiſt in two ſhillings in money and board. The Canadians, like the inhabitants of the back country in the United States, manufacture themſelves all the clothes they want for their families.

The Roman Catholic religion forms the eſtabliſhed church in Lower Canada; the miniſters are ſupported by tythes and gifts, and out of the eſtates acquired by the clergy. All the churches in the country belong to the Roman Catholic perſuaſion, and are tolerably well frequented by the people. The clergy of the Epiſcopal church are paid by the king; as well as the Proteſtant

biſhop, who is at the ſame time biſhop of Upper Canada. Divine ſervice is performed by Proteſtants, in Roman Catholic churches or chapels, at Quebec, Montreal, and *Trois Rivières*. In the country there is no religious worſhip but according to the rites of the Roman Catholic religion.

A convent of *Urſelines* in Quebec, and another in Montreal, and a ſociety of Charitable Siſters, who attend the hoſpitals and lazarettoes, are the only nunneries of Lower Canada. The revenue of the hoſpitals conſiſted in part of annuities, paid by the city of Paris, the payment of which was ſtopped in purſuance of a decree of the French National Aſſembly; and this deficiency has not hitherto been made up in any other manner. Two Franciſcans only, and one Jeſuit, are remaining of the numerous convents of theſe orders which ſubſiſted here at the time of the conqueſt of Canada. One of theſe Franciſcans, it is aſſerted, has, in violation of the treaty, taken the vow ſince that time, and the Jeſuit is rather a prieſt, who ſtyles himſelf a Jeſuit, than really a member of that religious community. By virtue of a grant of his Britannic Majeſty, all the eſtates in Canada, which belong to the Jeſuits, go to Lord Amherſt at the deceaſe of the laſt member of that community in the province; and rumour

ſays,

ſays, that the proceeds of theſe eſtates, enjoyed by the *ſoi-diſant* monk, which amount to fifteen hundred a year, are the true cauſe of the enmity which ſubſiſts between Lord Amherſt and Lord Dorcheſter.

The ſeminary in Quebec is kept by a ſort of congregation or fraternity, known by the name of the Prieſts of St. Sulpice, who, prior to the conqueſt, poſſeſſed three ſuch houſes, namely, one in Siam, one in Pondicherry, and one in Quebec. Since that time the ſeminary ſupports itſelf by its own means. The eſtates which it poſſeſſes are conſiderable, at leaſt in point of extent, and contain from fifty to ſixty thouſand acres; yet, as the ſeminary poſſeſſes not the right to diſpoſe either of the whole or any part of them, and conſequently cannot gain any advantage from theſe eſtates but by farming them out to tenants, who pay no more than about a buſhel and a half of corn for every ninety or a hundred cultivated acres, the proceeds exceed not in the whole five hundred dollars per annum. The mill, which the ſeminary poſſeſſes in the Iſland of Montreal, is let for ſomewhat more.

Beſides the lectures on theology, which are delivered in the ſeminary, Latin is alſo taught, and the ſcholars are even inſtructed in reading. This buſineſs is confided to young clergymen, who purſue

ſue their ſtudies to obtain the order of prieſthood, and are excuſed from certain exerciſes, without which they would not be qualified to take orders, on account of their being engaged in the inſtruction of youth. This ſeminary forms the only reſource for Canadian families, who wiſh to give their children any degree of education, and who may certainly obtain it there for ready money.

Upon the whole the work of education in Lower Canada is greatly neglected. At Sorrel, and *Trois Rivières*, are a few ſchools, kept by nuns, and in other places men or women inſtruct children. But the number of ſchools is, upon the whole, ſo very ſmall, and the mode of inſtruction ſo defective, that a Canadian who can read is a ſort of phenomenon. From the major part of theſe ſchools being governed by nuns and other women, the number of the latter, who can read, is, contrary to the cuſtom of other countries, much greater in Canada than that of men.

The Engliſh government is charged with deſignedly keeping the people of Canada in ignorance; but were it ſincerely deſirous of producing an advantageous change in this reſpect, it would have as great obſtacles to ſurmount on this head as in regard to agricultural improvements.

The

The feudal rights continue in the ſame force in Canada as previouſly to the conqueſt. The proprietors, or lords of the manor, have alienated or alienate the lands on condition of an annual recognition being paid by the tenants, which amounts to a buſhel or a buſhel and half of grain.

At every change, in reſpect to the occupiers of land, except in a caſe of a ſucceſſion in direct lineage, the lord of the manor levies a fee of two per cent; and, in caſe of ſale, he not only receives a twelfth of the purchaſe-money, but has alſo the right of redeeming the eſtate; he moreover enjoys the excluſive right of building mills, where all the people, who inhabit within the precincts of the manor, are obliged to have their corn ground.

The mills are ſo few in number, that frequently they are thirty-ſix miles diſtant from the farms. The miller's dues amount to a fourteenth, according to law; but the millers are as clever in Lower Canada as elſewhere, and contrive to raiſe them to a tenth. The bolting is performed by the farmers in their own houſes. The mills are numerous in the vicinity of Quebec and Montreal, and belong to the ſeminary.

On lordſhips of the manor being ſold, a fifth of the purchaſe-money goes to the crown; all

these fees and charges, it will be easily conceived, greatly impede the sale of estates.

The administration of justice is exactly the same as in Upper Canada. In this respect Lower Canada is divided into three districts. The penal and commercial laws are the same as in England; but the civil law consists of the customs of Paris, modified by the constitutional act of Canada, and by subsequent acts of the legislative power. Nineteen twentieths of all property, amenable before the courts of justice, belong to merchants. Criminal offences are very seldom committed in Canada.

The five thousand pounds, which last year were voted for the expence of the legislature, &c. are raised by means of an excise on liquors.

The climate in Lower Canada is rather dry, and very cold in winter; the sky is, at all times, beautifully clear and serene. In the months of January and February REAUMUR's thermometer stands generally at twenty degrees below the freezing point. In 1790 it fell quite below the scale, and the quicksilver retreated into the ball. In summer some days are excessively hot, and the thermometer stands at twenty-four degrees; this year it mounted to twenty-eight. The heat in summer, it has been observed, becomes more intense

tenſe and continues longer, and in winter the cold grows more moderate than formerly. The climate is healthy; epidemical diſeaſes are very rare; but, on account of the ſevere cold, cancerous ſores in the face and hands are very frequent. The declination of the magnetic needle at Quebec is twelve degrees to the weſt.

There exiſts no incorporated municipality either at Montreal or Quebec. The police of theſe towns is managed by juſtices of the peace, who fix the price of proviſion, and direct every public meaſure relative to this ſubject. They alſo meet once a week for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and decide on petty offences.

As to charitable inſtitutions, they conſiſt in two hoſpitals, one at Montreal, the other at Quebec, and a lazaretto at the latter place. They are inconſiderable and badly managed, eſpecially in regard to the abilities of the phyſicians who attend the ſick.

Throughout all Canada there is no public library, except in Quebec, and this is ſmall and conſiſts moſtly of French books. From the political ſentiments of the truſtees and directors of this library, it is a matter of aſtoniſhment, to find here the works of the French National Aſſembly. It is ſupported by voluntary contribution.

No literary ſociety exiſts in Canada, and not

three men are known in the whole country to be engaged in ſcientific purſuits from love of the ſciences. Excepting the Quebec almanack, not a ſingle book is printed in Canada. Meteorological obſervations are made with peculiar care, but only for his own amuſement, by Doctor KNOTT, phyſician to the army, and a man of extenſive knowledge.

Proviſion is much cheaper in Lower Canada than in the United States; the price of beef is three or four *ſous* a pound, mutton ſix, veal five, and ſalt pork from eight to twelve *ſous*. A turkey coſts from eighteen pence to two ſhillings, a fowl from ſix to eight *ſous*, wheat from ſix to ſeven ſhillings a buſhel, oats three, Indian corn from five to ſeven, ſalt one dollar a buſhel, bread two *ſous* a pound, and butter eight *ſous* [money of Canada, reckoning the dollar at five ſhillings.] Day-labourers generally earn in ſummer two ſhillings and ſix-pence a day, women half that money; in winter the wages of the former are one ſhilling and three-pence a day, and the latter are paid in the ſame proportion as above. A man-ſervant gets about five dollars a month. The rent for a good convenient houſe amounts in Quebec to one hundred and thirty dollars, and in Montreal to one hundred and fifty. The price of land has already been ſtated.

The

The markets, both at Montreal and Quebec are but moderately ſupplied in compariſon with the abundance in the markets of the large towns in the United States.

Mr. Guillemard in his journal aſſigns to the Canadians the ſame character, which I have above delineated. The firſt claſs, compoſed of proprietors, and people attached to the Britiſh government, deteſt the French Revolution in every point of view, and ſeem in this reſpect even to outdo the Engliſh miniſtry. The ſecond claſs of Canadians, who form a ſort of oppoſition againſt the proprietors and gentry, applaud the principles of the French Revolution, but abhor the crimes which it has occaſioned, without their attachment to France being in the leaſt impaired by theſe atrocities. The third, or laſt, claſs love France and the French nation, without a thought of the French Revolution, of which they ſcarcely know any thing at all.

Lord Dorcheſter bears the character of a worthy man, poſſeſſed of all the vanity of a darling of fortune. His Lady, who is much younger than her huſband, and determined not to ſacrifice any of the enjoyments which pride can afford, takes peculiar care to keep alive the vanity of her Lord. * * * * * * * * * * *

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

The

The ſettlements form, as already mentioned, a large ſtripe of about ſeven or eight miles in breadth on both banks of the river. The whole unſettled country appertains to the Crown, which is ever ready to make any grants that may be demanded; but the formalities, and reſervations connected with them, deter many people from making applications for land. All the new ſettlers come from New England.

On both ſides of the road which leads from St. John's to Quebec, near Lake St. Peter, and in the vicinity of the towns of Montreal and Quebec, are ſome Indian villages. One of them is Loretto, five miles from the latter place. The Indians of Loretto have attained, it is aſſerted, the laſt ſtage of civilization, at leaſt in point of the corruptneſs of morals and manners. No other Indian village can, in this reſpect, rival Loretto*.

Theſe Indians, who on working-days dreſs like the Canadians, wear on feaſts and ſundays their uſual dreſs. They cultivate their fields in the ſame manner as the whites, live like them, and ſpeak the ſame language; they are of the Roman

* Loretto, a ſmall village of Chriſtian Indians of the Huron Tribe, north-weſt of Quebec, has its name from a chapel built after the model of the Santa Caſa at Loretto in Italy, whence an image of the Holy Virgin has been ſent to the converts here, reſembling that in the famous Italian ſanctuary.—*Tranſl.*

Catholic

Catholic perſuaſion, and a curate reſides in the village.

The ſettlements, which carry a more Indian appearance than this village, are farther diſtant, and not numerous. On deſcending the River St. Lawrence, you meet with a more ſlaty ſoil, and in the vicinity of Thouſand Iſlands with a range of rocks of granite. Theſe iſles apparently conſiſt of granite of a reddiſh colour, well cryſtallized, and the chief component part of which is feldtſpar. In Kadanoghqui, between Kingſton and Thouſand Iſlands, a ſpecies of ſteatite is found, conſiderable veins of which are ſaid to be diſcovered in the neighbourhood. The reddiſh granite of Thouſand Iſlands is interſperſed with more perfect granite of a larger grain, which is very common in countries conſiſting of this ſort of ſtone, ſuch as the Alps, the Scotch Highlands, and others of leſs moment, but of the ſame deſcription.

The rapidity, with which Mr. Guillemard deſcended the River St. Lawrence, prevented him from examining the ſpecies of ſtone of which its banks are formed. But at Montreal he had ſufficient leiſure to enquire into the mineralogy of the country. It conſiſts, north of the River St. Lawrence, chiefly of lime-ſtone; in the ſouth, where the little populous village La Prairie is ſituated,

ſituated, you find, beſides a ſort of chert, nothing very remarkable on this head.

The Iſland St. Helena, a little below Montreal, conſiſts of this ſtone. On the banks of the river large maſſes of granite, quartz, and pudding-ſtone, are found, which ſeem disjoined from the beds to which they formerly belonged, and which cannot now be diſcovered. The ſoil on the mountains is rich and fertile, and full of quarries of lime-ſtone. Mines of pit-coal are ſaid to have been diſcovered in theſe mountains.

The houſes in Montreal are moſtly built of lime-ſtone of a dark colour and very compact ſtructure. It whitens in the fire, and aſſumes a greyiſh colour, when expoſed to the air and ſun.

The river Sorrel, after having left the baſon by Chamblee, flows along the foot of a broad and high range of mountains, called Beloeil. Between this river and the river St. Lawrence expands a vaſt plain, on which neither a rock nor ſtone is to be found. On digging up the ground you find to a conſiderable depth ſtrata of different ſorts of earth, ſand, clay, vegetable earth, and in many places another kind of black vegetative earth, which bears a cloſe reſemblance to peat.

The ſummit of the mountain Beloeil conſiſts of granite of a dark grey colour and a ſtrong grain.

grain. It contains little mica, but much ſchoerl. The declivity on both ſides of the ſummit conſiſts of ſlate of a very compact texture; ſome pieces reſemble baſalt in ſhape and grain.

On deſcending the Sorrel, you ſee not a ſingle rock, and the banks of this river, which the Engliſh at preſent call William Henry, conſiſt of a fine micaceous loam.

If you croſs St. Peter's lake on your way to the Trois Rivières, the ground riſes in a ſtriking manner in the form of terraces; but no rocks meet your view. The ſandy banks of the Trois Rivières beſpeak a poor ſoil, exhauſted by cultivation, and deprived of the vegetable earth. Marl of a blueiſh colour has fortunately been diſcovered under the ſand, which has much contributed to reſtore the fertility of the ground. This marl is of a fine grain, very compact and light; it lies above the level of the ſtream below the town of Trois Rivières.

A few miles thence, farther on in the country, are the only iron works in Canada; the ore is found in ſeveral places in the neighbourhood. It is bog-ore, and ſaid to yield very good iron.

Lime-ſtone is found as far as Quebec; its farther extent is not known. It is of various forms and qualities; in ſome places very hard and compact; in others in the ſtate of calcareous ſpar.

The

The colour paſſes, by imperfect ſhades, from a reddiſh light brown to a dark blue, approaching to black.

South of the river St. Lawrence, near the baſon-falls, lime-ſtone is ſtill found; but the ground conſiſts chiefly of ſtrata of a black, clayey ſlate, of a fine grain, interſperſed with beds of lime-ſtone. The conglomerations, which form the banks of the river, are of the ſame nature as the adjoining ſtrata, intermixed with different ſorts of ſchoerl and granite, which muſt have been waſhed to this ſpot from more elevated parts of the country.

The rock, on which ſtands the citadel of Quebec, is called the Diamond-rock, on account of ſeveral of its fiſſures and cavities containing ſpars, which by ignorant people are eſteemed precious ſtones. This rock conſiſts chiefly of ſtrata of lime-ſtone, which is in general very compact, and of a dark grey colour.

Over the plain lying farther up the country, called Abram's-plain, lime-ſtone and large maſſes of granite are ſcattered, which are peculiarly remarkable on account of the great quantity of ſchoerl they contain. Near the river you find various ſorts of pebbles, free-ſtone, granite, quartz, with ſome ſlate and lime-ſtone.

In Wolfslove the ſtrata of ſtone conſiſt of a black,

black ſlate, forming an obtuſe angle with the horizon. In the vicinity of Quebec moſt of theſe layers have a more perpendicular direction towards the ſurface of the earth, than in more weſtern countries. The high mountains north-eaſt of Quebec are ſaid to conſiſt of granite. Mr. Guillemard has not ſeen them; near the falls of Montmorency and ſomewhat farther up, the ſtrata conſiſt of lime-ſtone, and their direction runs nearly parallel with the horizon.

Accounts of the Fur-trade, extracted from the journal of Count ANDRIANI, *of Milan, who travelled in the interior parts of America in the year* 1791.

The moſt important places for the fur-trade are the following, viz.

Niagara, Lake Ontario, Détroit, Lake Erie, Michillimakkinak, Lake Huron, yielding 1200 bundles mixed peltry.

Michipicoton -	40	bundles fine peltry.
Pic - - -	30	ditto.
Alampicon - -	24	ditto.
Near the great carrying-place or portage	1400	ditto.
Bottom of the lake	20	ditto.

Point

Point of the lake - 20 bundles fine peltry.
Bay of Guivaranun - 15 ditto.

The ſkins of beavers, otters, martens, and wild cats, are called fine peltry.

Mixed peltry are furs, conſiſting of a mixture of the finer ſorts with a larger number of ſkins of wolves, foxes, buffaloes, deers, bears.

The fineſt peltry is collected north-weſt of the lakes in the Britiſh dominions; the furs grow coarſer in proportion as you approach nearer to the lakes.

This fur-trade is carried on by a company, known by the name of the *North-weſt Company*, and two or three other ſmall companies.

The north-weſt company, which is generally eſteemed a privileged company, has no charter; for the preponderance, which it enjoys in this trade, it is merely indebted to the large capital, which it employs in the trade, to the unanimity of the members, to their unwearied exertion, and to the monopoly, which the company has appropriated to itſelf in conſequence of the above circumſtances.

Its formation took place in the year 1782, and originated from the commercial operations of ſome eminent merchants, who uſed to carry on the trade in the country, ſituated beyond Lake Winnipey,

Winnipey, and eſpecially of Meſſrs. FORBISHER and MACTARISH, who reſide at Montreal. The ſignal ſucceſs, which this company met with, ſoon excited the jealouſy of other merchants, and ere long three different companies made their appearance at the great carrying-place, and rivalled each other in the purchaſe of furs with a degree of emulation, which could not but prove highly detrimental to themſelves and advantageous to the Indians. The north-weſt company, being more opulent than the reſt, made uſe of its wealth to ruin its competitors; no ſtone was left unturned; the agents of the company's rivals were bribed and ſeduced; and the animoſity between the different traders roſe to ſuch a height, that they frequently proceeded to blows. This petty warfare, which coſt ſeveral lives and large ſums of money, at length opened the eyes of the rival companies. They became ſenſible of the neceſſity of uniting in one body, and the north-weſt company, eſſentially intereſted in preventing any further moleſtation of this trade, made ſeveral ſacrifices, to attain this end. They formed a connection with different members of the other companies, admitted other merchants to a ſhare in their trade, and thus ſecured their extenſive commerce with the country ſituated

north-weſt of the lakes, the only ſpot where fine peltry can be had in abundance.

Several thouſands of Indians formerly conveyed their furs to the great carrying-place. But at preſent the company ſend their agents a thouſand miles into the interior parts of the Indian poſſeſſions. It frequently happens, that theſe agents continue there two years, before they return with the peltry, they have purchaſed, to the great carrying-place.

The company employ about two thouſand men in carrying on this traffic in the interior of the Indian country, which is, however, ſo extremely barren, that whatever articles theſe agents ſtand in need of either for their cloathing or ſubſiſtence, muſt be ſent thither from Montreal with conſiderable difficulties and trouble, and, of con ſequence, at an exceſſive price.

Near the great carrying-place, where all theſe agents meet, and which is the central point of this trade, ſtands a fort, which is kept in good repair, and garriſoned with fifty men.

The poſt of Michillimakkinak is the rallying-point of the different Canadian merchants, who do not belong to the north-weſt company. Their agents traffic only with ſuch parts, as are ſeated weſt and ſouth-weſt of the lakes, and where the furs

furs are of an inferior quality. They carry on this trade in the ſame manner as the north-weſt company, but as theſe ſmall companies are leſs opulent than the former, their agents penetrate not ſo far into the interior of the country, as thoſe of the north-weſt company.

The agents ſet out from Montreal in the month of June, and are ſix weeks going to the fort near the great carrying-place. They embark at Montreal in boats, forming parties of eight or ten perſons, proceed on the river St. Lawrence from China to the Lake of the Two Mountains; deſcend the river Utacoha; croſs Lake Nipiſſing; paſs by the French River into Lake Huron; proceed to Fort Michillimakkinak; and thence to the great carrying-place.

This way is ſhorter by a hundred miles than that by the lakes, but you meet with thirty-ſix carrying places, ſeveral of which lie acroſs rocks, over which the boats as well as the cargoes muſt be carried on the backs of the paſſengers, and that with great precaution, on account of the narrowneſs of the roads. The boats are but of four tons burthen; they are navigated by nine men, coſt twenty-eight Louis d'or each, and ſerve but for one voyage.

The ſhips, employed in the paſſage acroſs the lakes, are from one hundred and twenty to one

hundred and thirty tons burthen. Flat-bottomed veſſels of fifteen tons are alſo made uſe of for this purpoſe, which are eaſily managed by four or five men, and are very durable.

Notwithſtanding the advantages, offered by this paſſage, the former route is preferred for the fur-trade, becauſe, although it is attended with much trouble, yet it admits of the day of the departure as well as of the arrival being fixed with certainty and exactneſs, which point, on account of the wind, cannot be attained on paſſing over the lakes, and yet is of the utmoſt importance for the Canada merchants, as they muſt neither miſs the period of receiving the furs from the interior of the Indian territory, nor that of expediting them for Europe; the navigation of the river St. Lawrence not being open for a long time.

About the end of June the agents of the company, ſent into the interior to trade with the Indians, cauſe the articles purchaſed to be tranſported to their place of rendezvous.

At this time upwards of one thouſand men are frequently aſſembled in Michillimakkinak, who either arrive from Canada to receive the peltry, or are agents of the company and Indians, who aſſiſt the former in conveying thither the furs, they have bought.

As

As the trade of the north-weſt company is far more important, than that of the other traders, the number of people, aſſembled in the fort near the great carrying-place is of conſequence far more conſiderable at the time of the delivery of the ſkins; in this place there is frequently a concourſe of one thouſand people and upwards.

The method, obſerved by the agents in their traffic with the Indians, is this, that they begin with intoxicating them with rum, to over-reach them with more facility in the intended buſineſs. The agents carry on this traffic in thoſe villages only, where there are no other merchants.

It is a circumſtance, worthy of notice, that an ancient French law, enacted at the time, when Canada belonged to France, prohibits any rum to be ſold to the Indians by the agents on pain of the galleys. Hence originates the cuſtom, ſtill obſerved at this day, of giving it away; yet this is not done without exception, for many agents ſell their rum.

The one thouſand four hundred bundles of fine peltry, from the great carrying-place, which according to the price, paid to the petty traders in Montreal, who collect them in ſmall numbers, are valued at forty pounds ſterling each, and which by the company are ſent to London, fetch there eighty-eight thouſand pounds ſterling. They form

about a moiety of all the fine peltry, yearly exported from Canada, without taking into the account the furs ſent from Labrador, from the bay of Chaleurs and Gaſpe or Gachepe.

For theſe one thouſand four hundred bundles the north-weſt company pay about ſixteeen thouſand pounds ſterling, and for the proceeds thereof ſuch articles are purchaſed in England, as the Indians are fond of receiving in exchange for their peltry, and the chief ſtore-houſe of which is at Montreal. As the accounts relative to this trade are generally kept in Canada in French money, the above ſixteen thouſand pounds ſterling muſt be computed in the ſame manner, as this actually has been done by Count Andriani in his journal.

1. Commodities purchaſed in England - - - -	*liv.*	354,000
2. Pay for forty guides, interpreters, and conductors of the expedition*		88,000
3. Pay for one thouſand one hundred men, who are employed in the		
Carried forwards,	*liv.*	442,000

* Every boat's company, conſiſting of eight or ten perſons, has a guide; there is alſo a chief guide in every harbour, where they winter. They are all inhabitants of Canada, and receive each two thouſand five hundred livres.—*Author.*

Brought forwards,	*liv.*	442,000
traffic in the interior of the country, and who pass the winter there, without returning to Montreal; one thousand eight hundred livres for each - - -		1,980,000
4. Pay for one thousand four hundred men, employed in descending the river with the boats from the great portage to Montreal, and ascending it from this place thither, and transporting the merchandize - -		350,000
5. Price of the provision, consumed on the passage from Montreal to the great carrying-place, and at the latter place, upon an average per year - - -		4,000
Total amount of all the expence, incurred by the company for one thousand four hundred bundles fine peltry - -	*liv.*	2,776,000

On comparing the eighty-eight thousand pounds sterling, which the sale of these furs produces in London, with these two millions seven hundred and seventy-six thousand livres, it should seem,

ſeem, that the company ſuſtains a loſs of ſix hundred thouſand livres Tournois. But this loſs is merely apparent, as will be obvious from the following ſtatement.

The pay of the men, employed in the trade, as mentioned in the above account, is merely nominal; for excepting the forty guides and one thouſand four hundred men, who are employed in aſcending and deſcending the river with the boats, who receive half their wages in caſh, all the reſt are paid entirely in merchandize, which at the great carrying place yields a profit of fifty per cent.

The merchandize, imported on behalf of this trade to the above amount of three hundred and fifty-four thouſand livres, conſiſts of woollen blankets, coarſe cloths, thread and worſted ribbands of different colours, vermilion, porcelain bracelets, ſilver trinkets, firelocks, ſhot, gunpowder and eſpecially rum. In fort Détroit theſe articles are ſold for three times their uſual value in Montreal, in Fort Michillimakkinak four times dearer, at the great carrying-place eight times, at Lake Winnipeg ſixteen times; nay the agents fix the price ſtill higher at their will and pleaſure.

As the men, employed in this trade, are paid in merchandize, which the company ſells with an enormous profit, it is obvious at how cheap a

rate

rate theſe people are paid. They purchaſe of the company every article, they want; it keeps with them an open account, and as they all winter in the interior of the country and beyond lake Winnipeg, they pay, of conſequence, exceſſively dear for the blankets, and the clothes, which they bring with them for their wives. Theſe menial ſervants of the company are in general extravagant, given to drinking and exceſs; and theſe are exactly the people whom the company wants. The ſpeculation on the exceſſes of theſe people is carried ſo far, that if one of them happen to lead a regular, ſober life, he is burthened with the moſt laborious work, until by continual ill-treatment he is driven to drunkenneſs and debauchery, which vices cauſe the rum, blankets and trinkets to be ſold to greater advantage. In 1791, nine hundred of theſe menial ſervants owed the company more than the amount of ten or fifteen years pay.

This is in a few words the ſyſtem of the company, at the head of which are Meſſrs. Forbiſher and Mactariſh, who poſſeſs twenty-four ſhares of the forty-ſix, of which the company conſiſts. The reſt, divided into ſmaller portions, are diſtributed among other merchants in Montreal, who either tranſact buſineſs with the company, or

or otherwiſe do not concern themſelves in their affairs.

The north-weſt company is to ſubſiſt ſix years: at the expiration of which time the dividends are to be paid to the ſhare-holders; until that time they remain with the capital.

Total amount of the Fur-trade.

The whole amount of the peltry, which the north-weſt company receives from the great carrying-place and exports from Canada, is eſtimated at	£. 88,000
From the Bay of Chaleurs, Gaſpe, and Labrador - - -	60,000
From different places in the interior, with which the trade is carried on by a certain number of merchants, who have aſſociated in Michillimakkinak - - -	60,000
Total,	£. 208,000

That branch of this extenſive trade, which is carried on by ſmall companies in ſuch parts, as are ſituated below the lakes, is likely ſoon to fall into the hands of merchants in the United States, as the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, ſtipulated in

in the treaty with Spain, opens a more expeditious, a ſafer and leſs expenſive outlet for theſe commodities, and a more eaſy importation by New Orleans to all the marts of the United States.

Amount of the Merchandize, exported from the Province of Canada in the Year 1786.

Rye, 103,824 buſhels, valued at	£.	20,764	0 0
Flour, 10,476 buſhels		12,571	0 0
Biſcuit, 9,317 hundred-weight		6,056	0 0
Flax-ſeed, 10,171 buſhels		2,034	4 0
Oats, 4,015 buſhels		516	0 0
Peaſe, 304 buſhels		62	16 0
Timber		706	0 0
Maſts, ſtaves, planks, ſhingles		3,262	0 0
Potaſhes		1,724	0 0
Maiden hair (adianthum capillus veneris, Linn.)		186	0 0
Horſes, ſixty-ſeven		670	0 0
Caſt iron		1,200	0 0
Spruce-eſſence for beer		211	0 0
Shook caſks		516	0 0
Banala, 1984 hundred-weight		1,289	8 0
Salmon		759	0 0
Potatoes		55	6 0
Smoaked ſalmon		68	15 0
Carried forward,	£.	52,651	9 0

Brought forward,	£. 52,651	9	0
Onions - - -	300	0	0
Pork - - - -	376	0	0
Beef - - - -	210	0	0
Train oil - - -	3,700	0	0
Salt fiſh and peltry from Labrador, from the Bay of Chaleurs and Gaſpe, according to the liſt tranſmitted by Governor Coxe	60,000	0	0
Amount of the peltry which comes from the great lakes, from the factories of the north-weſt company, and other places, according to the under-mentioned detail - - - -	225,977	0	0
Sum total,	£. 343,214	9	0

being the amount entered in the cuſtom-houſe books of Canada.

A detailed Account of the different ſorts of Peltry, exported from Canada in the Year 1786.

6,213 foxes ſkins
116,623 beavers
23,684 otters
5,959 minks
3,958 weaſels
17,713 bears

1,659

1,659 young bears
126,079 deer ſkins in the hair
202,719 caſtors
10,854 racoon
2,277 wild cat-ſkins, looſe
3,702 ditto in bundles
7,555 elk
12,923 wolves
506 whelps
64 tygers
15,007 ſeal-ſkins
480 ſquirrel

Although a variety of circumſtances, incident to the chace, occaſioned by the weather, or originating in the ſentiments of the Indians, cannot but produce variations in regard to the quantities of peltry yearly received, yet the reſults of the years 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790 and 1791, nearly correſpond with thoſe of 1786; a circumſtance, which as it happens in regard to a trade, that extends from Labrador to a diſtance of three or four hundred miles from Lake Superior, is very remarkable.

Account

Account of the Merchandize, imported into Canada in the ſaid Year 1786, *extracted from the Cuſtom-houſe Books.*

Rum - - -	£. 63,032
Brandy - - -	225
Molaſſes - - -	21,380
Coffee - - -	2,065
Sugar - - -	5,269
Spaniſh wine - - -	31,288
Tobacco - - -	1,316
Salt - - - -	2,912
Chocolate - - -	129
Sum total,	£. 127,616

An exact account of the value of piece-goods has not yet been made out in a regular manner; but in purſuance of an order of Lord Dorcheſter, the ſum total of the value of all imports was by the merchants, upon a four years average, determined in the following manner, viz.

Amount of the above ſum	£. 127,616	0 0
Merchandize for Quebec -	99,700	0 0
Ditto for Montreal -	97,800	0 0
Amount total of Imports	£. 325,116	0 0
Exports	343,214	9 0
Balance in favour of Canada	£. 18,098	9 0

To the above imports is to be added the value of ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and nine barrels of ſalt pork, and of one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-four firkins of butter, of about fifty or ſixty pounds each, for the uſe of the military.

The imports in the following years 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790 and 1791, were nearly of the ſame value, with a difference of about five or ſix thouſand pounds ſterling more or leſs.

At the cloſe of this ſhort account of the trade of Canada I ſhall here repeat once more, that it is a faithful extract of the journal of Count Andriani, of which a friend of his, to whom he had communicated it, permitted me to make uſe. The abilities and character of Count Andriani, as well as the facility, with which he was able to make his reſearches purſuant to the direction of the Britiſh government, inſpire great confidence in the exactneſs of the information, which he has collected. I have not been able myſelf to ſubſtantiate the veracity of his accounts; and beſides it is eaſily underſtood, that ſince the time, when he wrote, ſome alterations may have taken place, in point both of the quality and the value of the exports and imports.

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